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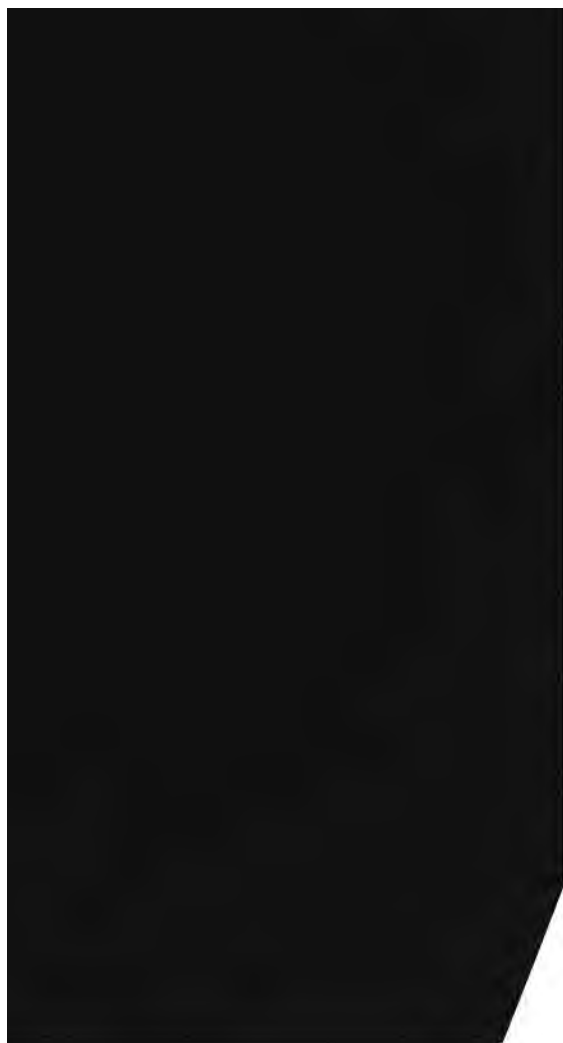
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STUDIES IN
SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

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W. Jeff V.D.

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

IN THE

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

BY

M. G. J. KINLOCH

AUTHOR OF

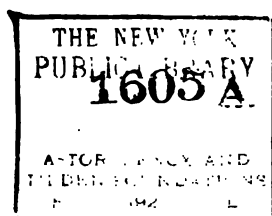
"A HISTORY OF SCOTLAND CHIEFLY IN ITS ECCLESIASTICAL ASPECT
FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY UNTIL THE
DEATH OF JAMES VI," "A SONG BOOK OF
THE SOUL," ETC.

LONDON

SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT, & CO.

EDINBURGH: R. GRANT & SON

1898



NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

PREFATORY NOTE.

IN the following pages the writer has endeavoured to give a brief account of the state of religion in Scotland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. If in them the vicissitudes and the sufferings of the Catholic remnant are found to occupy but a comparatively small amount of space, this is due to the meagreness of the sources of information at present accessible regarding the children of the Holy See. The writer has made use of such scanty materials as were available, and trusts that some additional light, though of an indirect nature, will be found to be thrown on the subject by the allusions to the organisation, the discipline, and the temper of the dominant religious body.

M. G. J. KINLOCH.

ROME, 28th April 1898.

..... 17th Dec 1900

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STUDIES IN SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

CHARLES I. IN SCOTLAND.

“Faith of our Fathers ! living still,
In spite of dungeon, fire, and sword ;
Oh, how our hearts beat high with joy,
Whene’er we hear that glorious word :
Faith of our Fathers ! Holy Faith !
We will be true to thee till death !
Faith of our Fathers ! we will love
Both friend and foe in all our strife.”

ON Sunday the 27th of March 1625, King James VI. of Scotland and I. of England died at his house of Theobalds in Herts. The news reached Edinburgh on the 30th, just as the last sighs of a tremendous spring gale were passing away ; and on Thursday, the 31st day of March, at 2 o’clock in the afternoon, his only surviving son Charles was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh and on the shore of Leith, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland. The following day the late King’s apartments in Holyrood were draped with black velvet, and the congregation in the High Kirk of St Giles were

reminded of the death of their sovereign by seeing the "place where Wee should sit" covered with black.

In the son of James VI., whose outward bearing was the very ideal of stateliness and majesty, the "white King, temperate, chaste, and serious," there was nothing to remind his people of the homely, good-natured, garrulous, and essentially undignified father. James had been ever either gazing onward to the promised land of England, or satisfying his vision with the fulfilment of his desires. In the dark and melancholy eyes of Charles, fixed far beyond the thrones of earth, there were those who could read memories of the tragedy of Fotheringhay, and an anticipation of the sorrows of Carisbrooke, and of the block at Whitehall.

King James was buried in Westminster Abbey with exceeding pomp,¹ — pomp after his own heart. The death of "a most dread Sovereign" afforded a precious opportunity, to be taken advantage of by both pulpit and press. The sermon "Dormivit Solomon" of Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, is an example of the efforts of the former; "A Cypress Garland for the sacred forehead of the late King James," of the latter. Even the Scottish poet William Drummond of Hawthornden,—he who eight years before had welcomed James with the beautiful poem "Forth Feasting"; he who had written "Tears on the death of Moeliades," when Prince Henry died; the author of the lovely hymns of "The Flowers of Sion,"—could not restrain himself from proclaiming,—

"The world which late was golden by thy breath
Is iron turned, and horrid by thy death."

¹ See Nichol's *Progresses of King James*, vol. iv. p. 1036.

On May 11th, 1625, Charles I., who was in his twenty-fifth year, was married to Henrietta Maria, third daughter of Henry the Great of France and of Maria dei Medici, and sister of the reigning French Monarch, Louis XIII. The marriage was celebrated in Paris by Cardinal Rochefoucault, before the gates of Nôtre Dame, according to the rites of the Catholic Church, the bridegroom being represented by proxy.

On Sunday morning, June 23rd, the bride of fifteen years landed at Dover; and on the 24th she was united to the King of Great Britain, by the Anglican formula, in the Hall of St Augustine at Canterbury. The rain was falling fast, presage of the clouds so soon to darken the sky above the throne, when Charles I. and his pretty little bride entered London.¹ Well, indeed, had Pope Urban VIII. delayed his reluctant dispensation, anticipating nothing but sorrow from this union.² The youthful bride possessed noble qualities, which time and trials were to develop; but the graces of a saint and the wisdom of a seer would not then have sufficed to render a Catholic Queen acceptable to Great Britain.

By a secret agreement the King promised greater freedom of religion to his Catholic subjects, and in the marriage contract the Queen's spiritual life was liberally provided for. Her Majesty "shall, together with her children and household, enjoy full freedom in the practice of the Roman Catholic Apostolic faith, for which purpose a chapel for her use shall be provided in

¹ Ellis's *Historical Letters*.

² Barberini MS. (Tierney, *Dodd's History*, vol. v. p. 159.)

each of the royal palaces, as well as a bishop and twenty-eight chaplains for preaching and the administration of the sacraments." All her attendants "shall belong to the Catholic Church." In a clause of the same contract ordering that the Queen was "to have the education of her children until their thirteenth year," Protestants saw peril to the religion of their future sovereigns.

The plague broke out violently in England this summer. "It is very remarkable," writes a trembling Protestant, "that the Queen's mass, the pest of the soul, and a most raging pestilence, killing bodies, came to London together. Oh, that men had eyes in their heads to see, and hearts to consider the Lord's ways!"¹

But, indeed, there was no reason for Protestants to fear that Catholics would be left in peace, for their condition during the reign of Charles I., as it had been under his father, was "truly pitiable." Late in the previous century the extreme sufferings of Catholics had sent a touching appeal to Rome for succour. Bishop William Chisholm, who having been expelled from the See of Dunblane, became Bishop of Vaison in France, John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, and other clerics and laymen, pathetically represented to Pope Clement VIII. the woful state of religion in Scotland, and the evident danger of its utter ruin unless speedy and efficacious means were adopted to prevent it. Possibly the petitioners may have recalled the fact that in mediæval days the Scottish Church had been by special grace the

¹ *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, by John Row, p. 339.

daughter of Rome ; and that then a Scottish Hospitium, with houses and vineyards, had afforded a kindly shelter to the northern pilgrims who came from the ends of the earth to the threshold of the apostles.¹

But if the enjoyment of houses and vineyards was for the present suspended, the appeal for Scotland was not in vain, and on the 5th of December 1600 the Scots College was founded in Rome by Pope Clement VIII., "with the view . . . of furnishing the Catholic youth of Scotland with a Christian and religious education, which the circumstances of their own unhappy country did not then permit them to receive at home, and also to form a nursery for native missionary priests destined to the labour of the Scottish mission."² The College was opened in 1602, with eleven students, and Monsignor Paolini as first superior. The Protector of Scottish Catholics was at this time Cardinal Borghese ; and on his accession to the Papal throne as Paul V., Cardinal Maffeo Barberini became Protector. In 1623, Pope Urban VIII. nominated his nephew, Cardinal Francis Barberini, Protector, and from him, during his long cardinalate, Scottish Catholics were certain of a friendly welcome to Rome. Those who went forth on the Scottish mission contemplated the possibility of martyrdom. In 1628, a bloody edict of the Government appointed officers to "follow, hunt and pursue priests with fire and sword" ; "to set fire to the houses in which they had sought refuge, and to use all other force and warlike

¹ MS. History of the Scots College in Rome.

² Bull of Foundation.

engine that can be had for . . . apprehending of the said jesuits and excommunicate Papists," "the most pernicious pests in this commonweal." In 1628, nineteen priests to be hunted down were mentioned by name.

On February 2nd, 1626, Charles I. was crowned in Westminster Abbey. His wife, in obedience to Holy Church, refused to participate in the religious ceremonial.

Troubles beset Charles at the very beginning of his reign. Even then the sky was darkening and the clouds were gathering. Into an account of these troubles we cannot enter, except in so far as they affected the northern nation. Suffice it to say that when Charles I. succeeded to the throne of Great Britain, he succeeded also to his father's personal debts, amounting to £700,000; and he was also inheritor of the belief that "the sacred order of kings is of Divine right; that a supreme power is given by God in Scripture to Kings to rule all persons, civil and ecclesiastical." Within a year of his marriage he dismissed the Queen's French servants, forgot all his solemn engagements to deal leniently with her co-religionists, plunged into an inglorious war with France, and obtained money by irregular or illegal taxation.

In 1628, the Petition of Right was passed, through the instrumentality of the exasperated Commons; the Duke of Buckingham, who had long stood by the King's right hand, was assassinated shortly afterwards; and Sir Thomas Wentworth, the future Earl of Strafford, became chief governor in the State, whilst William Laud, now Bishop of London, endeavoured to be all-powerful in the Church.

Very early did Charles I. indicate to the Scottish nation the nature of his ecclesiastical policy. He ratified his father's decision to divide Edinburgh into four parishes; and further decreed that the ministers thereof were to be chosen, not by the people, but by the magistrates, and that the people were to resign the right, which they had exercised since the Reformation, of trying and censuring their ministers.

In the month of November 1626, a startling announcement was made at the Cross of Edinburgh. It was, that the King had resolved on a general revocation of all church lands to the Crown; "of which," says an historian, "the kingdom conceived so much prejudice, and in effect was the ground stone of all the mischief that followed after, both to the King's government and family."¹ This measure for the recovery of the church lands, which at the Reformation had fallen to the Crown, but had been seized by the nobility, was very unpopular. "It was," says an historian, virtually the "first act of war." The King acquired the Abbey of Arbroath from the Marquis of Hamilton, and the Lordship of Glasgow from the Duke of Lennox, and he presented a part of their old emoluments to the two metropolitan sees; but when, in 1627, the Earl of Nithsdale arrived in Scotland to obtain the remaining lands, he was forced to return with his mission unfulfilled. Indeed, had he persevered in his endeavour, an arrangement was made to murder him quietly, and so to settle the matter; or, as an historian puts it, the opponents of the revocation agreed

¹ *The Annales of Scotland*, Sir James Balfour, vol. ii. p. 128.

"they would fall upon him and all his party in the old Scottish manner, and knock them on the head."¹

John Spottiswood and James Law were now respectively Protestant Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow. In July, 1626, the King instructed the prelates regarding those clergy who had been ordained before the promulgation of the Articles of Perth, and who scrupled to conform to them. They were to "spare them for a tyme, till they be better resolved." Indeed, the ecclesiastical camp was now divided between those who would obey the Articles and those who would not, and most distressing scenes took place in the churches. On Easter day 1627, only six or seven persons "kneeled at the table"; and before the Easter of 1628 certain ministers announced that if the people would communicate, "they should have liberty to sit, stand, or kneel" as they pleased. In July of this year the sacrament was administered "by sound of trumpet" to many of the officers of State; those who neglected the summons, and to take the Popish tests, were "to be removed from our Council Table." This was a punishment devised by the King, as he wrote to the Council, "out of our care and affection for the maintenance of the professed religion."

By the King's commands the bishops and ministers were "to mark down and send to the Privy Council twice in the year . . . the list of all Catholics who declined to attend the service of the Law Church." Having been secured, their souls and bodies, by the

¹ See Burnet's *History of his Own Time*, vol. i. p. 27.

horrible sentence of Excommunication, were to be given over to Satan ; they were to be treated as rebels, their property confiscated. After putting out the fire in their apartments, the Catholic owners were to be ejected from their homes, and the keys to be delivered to the King's officers. If in certain instances the King, hearkening to the mediation of his wife, ventured to mitigate or annul the sentences, as a rule neither age, nor sickness, nor rank were in the least respected. The Privy Council, of which several of the bishops were members, eagerly obeyed the royal commands. Archbishop Spottiswood, who in 1615 had been instrumental in giving a martyr to the Catholic Church, was with Patrick Forbes of Corse, Bishop of Aberdeen, specially zealous in persecuting Catholics, "those pernicious and wicked pests," "without fainting or wearying." The Council vehemently denounced those who went "in pilgrimage to chapellis and wells, which is so frequent and common in this kingdom, to the great offence of God, scandal of the Kirk, and disgrace of His Majesty's Government"; and the kirk-session of Aberdeen unanimously condemned those who went to Sanct Fiacke's Well to receive the same punishment as "fornicatours."¹

By 1630, it appears from Father William Leslie, that all the Catholics who appeared before the Council in the previous July, "women and men, had all been sentenced to perpetual banishment: seven weeks were allowed to prepare for their departure; one-third of the rents were granted for the maintenance of their families, which

¹ See Records of the Kirk-Session of Aberdeen.

third, however, would be forfeited, should they venture to return” Great indeed was the grace requisite, when the call of God came, to rise up and to leave ancestral lands and happy firesides, rather than to be unfaithful to the Church of God ; but when the hour of trial appeared, many favoured souls turned away from the beloved country of their birth, content, for the sake of the Home Eternal in the Heavens, never to see the hills of Scotland again.

When the Bishop of Lincoln preached at the funeral of James VI., he informed his hearers that his late Majesty “was in hand” with a “new version of the Psalms,” which he intended to have finished, and “dedicated with all to the only saint of his devotion, the Church of Great Britaine and that of Ireland, when God called him to sing Psalms with the angels.” In this work, which James called “perfiting the Psalmes,” he received great assistance from the learned Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, who was said to be the actual author of the version which appeared in the King’s name. In 1631, “The Psalms of King David translated by King James” saw the light. Copies were sent to many of the Presbyteries, but the book was held to contain “so many poetical fancies, such as calling the Sun the lord of light, and the Moon the pale lady of the night, etc., that the Bishops were ashamed to push the receiving and using thereof ; so it was laid aside.”¹

A little family was now gathering round the throne.

¹ See *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. i. pp. 227, 256. Stevenson’s *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 123. Row, p. 353.

A boy born in 1629 died on the day of his birth; but on May 29th, 1630, Henrietta Maria gave birth to Charles, afterwards Charles II., in the Palace of St James; and on November 4th, 1631, Mary, the future wife of the Prince of Orange, was born in the same palace.

Amid political troubles, financial embarrassments, and domestic joys, Charles did not forget the land of his nativity. "Being at ease in the year 1633, he began to long for the glory of the ancient crown of Scotland; therefore he demanded, first, it might be sent to him in England, to save him a journey; which being most solemnly refused by the Scottish nobility, he found himself necessitate to make that long journey, that he might acquire the honour."¹ But besides receiving his ancestral crown, Charles, in this expedition to Edinburgh, "proposed nothing more to himself than to unite his three kingdoms in one Form of God's Worship and publick Devotions."²

On the 11th of May 1633, the King set out from London with a stately retinue and "furniture, plate [and] plenishing." By the 8th of June he was at Berwick, and on Saturday the 15th of June he entered Edinburgh. The northern city was ever hospitably intent, and had early begun diligent preparations for the royal visit. In the records of the Privy Council the orders "anent the Coronation" appear in the winter months.³

¹ *The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland*, Rev. James Kirkton, p. 28.

² See Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 82.

³ MS. Register of Secret Council.

In the preceding reign, persons who kept their pigs under their stairs were required to remove them before the arrival of Queen Anne; and whether these animals had returned to the streets we are not told, but in any case the city was thoroughly cleaned up, and roads and streets were sanded from the West Port to the gates of Holyrood; while, for the *entertainment of the High and Mighty Monarch, Charles, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, into his ancient and royall City of Edinburgh*, William Drummond of Hawthornden wrote panegyrical verses, and George Jameson, the Scottish painter, assisted in the production of painted scenes for ponderous allegorical representations, in which the gods of Olympus and members of the Town Council figured side by side.

As the King entered the West Port, Caledonia welcomed him to Edinburgh in verse; Mars, Mercury, and Minerva disported in the Elysian fields, Bacchus presided at his fountain of wine, and on Parnassus Hill "nine pretty boys" personated the Nine Muses; while, as he rode down the ancient streets, seven times His Majesty reined his horse to listen "pleasantlie" to seven speeches delivered either by one of the immortals or by an Edinburgh baillie, "syne rode down the Canongate to his own palace of Holyrood House." Indeed, there was a strong affinity to the festivities which had welcomed his grandmother when, in all her girlish beauty, she was feasted and "propined" in Edinburgh Castle in September 1561.

The King, who was accompanied by Laud, Bishop of

London, and White, Bishop of Ely, "heard devotion in the Chapel" on Sunday. On Monday he supped "most magnificently" in the Castle, slept there, and next morning, about ten o'clock, he rode in great state to Holyrood for his coronation. This was the "most glorious and magnifque coronatione that ever was seen in the Kingdome, and the first King of Great Britain that ever was crowned in Scotland."¹

Archbishop Spottiswood crowned Charles, and Laud presided over elaborate ceremonials, which caused deep affliction to the "godly." The solemn anointing of the King was bad enough, but a "four-nukit table, in manner of ane altar," with an empty basin upon it and two candlesticks (in which the candles were unlighted, for Laud dared not venture too far), "ane rich tapestry wherein the crucifix was curiously wrought," the dresses of the ministers, "bowings and beckings," were intolerable. Few of the Scotsmen present, and not many of the Englishmen, had seen the like. On the other hand, Charles and Laud were shocked by the state of the Scottish Church. Probably their anticipations came far short of what they saw with their eyes and heard with their ears. To those who were used to the decent rites of Anglicanism, and to the language of the historic petitions in her Book of Common Prayer, the rugged simplicity characteristic of Scottish Protestant devotions and the "conceived prayer" must have been sufficiently painful. "No set or publike form of prayer was used, but

¹ See *Balfour*, vols. ii. and iv. *Spalding's Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland*, vol. i. p. 17, and *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 38.

preachers or readers and ignorant school-masters prayed in the Church, sometimes so ignorantly, as it was a shame to all religion to hear the Majestie of God so barbarously spoken unto, sometimes so seditiously that their prayers were plain libels, girding at soveraigntie and authoritie, or lies, being stuffed with all the false reports in the Kingdom.”¹

In the spirit of missionaries intent on a gigantic home mission, the King and the bishop set about immediately to devise schemes for the deliverance of this unhappy land.

In entering on the miserable history of the strife between Scottish and English Protestants, we are soon reminded of the sad fact that men, in striving to make each other Presbyterians or Episcopalians, “seemed to have ceased to be Christians.”² At the very beginning it is necessary to bear clearly in mind that the contest was in *no sense* between Catholics and Protestants, but between two classes of Protestants,—between the spirit of that Anglicanism “which is but Episcopal Protestantism,” and which is the strongest bulwark Protestantism has ever known, and the spirit of Calvinism, exhibited in the vigorous form of the Scottish Presbyterian Kirk, or Church. With that Church founded on the Mount, “which alone has the Gospel and the promises,” neither faction had a visible part. Both alike rejected the living voice, and hearkened instead to the voice of private judgment. Both, whatever were their diversities, were

¹ *A Large Declaration*, by the King, p. 36.

² See *Chambers's Domestic Annals*.

united in vilifying and torturing the Bride of the Lamb and in war to the death with the Church of God. Not in the spirit of bitterness, but of love, with the prayer that God will build again the walls of Jerusalem, must we approach this subject, and be prompt to acknowledge grace vouchsafed through other channels than the sacraments, and the fruits of that grace exhibited in the singularly holy lives led by certain representatives of even mutilated forms of Christianity.

On the side of Charles I. we shall see earnest conviction, an affectionate belief in the Church of England, "as by law established," as his spiritual mother, combined with the charitable desire to bring all his subjects to his own way of thinking; on the Presbyterian side, we shall see a conviction equally sincere and earnest, and the desire, as strong as the King's, that all their fellow-men should find repose in the bosom of the Kirk of Scotland.

Projects innumerable for the reformation of Scotland on a new system now occupied Charles and Laud. Some of these were impracticable certainly, such as the rebuilding of the Cathedrals of Iona and St Andrews, but one result of the royal visit was the foundation of the Anglican Diocese of Edinburgh. The new diocese, whose charter is dated at Whitehall, 29th September 1633, was formed from the archdeaconry of Lothian, and its Cathedral was to be the collegiate church of St Giles in Edinburgh. By the King's commands, the wall which had been erected between the chancel and the nave was pulled down, "to the great grief of the numerous inhabitants of the city." By the same charter the burgh of

Edinburgh was created a city. The first bishop was William Forbes, a minister of the city. He belonged to a singularly refined type,—a type almost unknown in Scotland outside the Catholic Church. “He had a strange faculty of preaching five or six hours at a time. His way of life and devotion was thought “monastik, and his learning lay in antiquity. He studied to be a reconciler between Papists and Protestants, leaning rather to the first,¹” and so brought on his principles the imputation that they “were a hotch-potch of Popery and Arminianism.” He died three months after his promotion, and was succeeded in the Diocese by David Lindsay, Bishop of Brechin.

Parliament met on the 29th of June, and consisted of one hundred and fifty-five persons in all—twelve prelates, forty-seven nobles, forty-five lairds or lesser barons, and fifty-one burgesses. Acts of the preceding reign were renewed. The King’s power to regulate the apparel of Kirkmen was acknowledged, and his “Sovereign authority, Princely Power, Royal Prerogative, and Privilege of his Crown, over all Estates, Persons, and Causes whatsoever,”² duly assented to. His power over the ministers’ dress made many fear “lest by that door the surplice, rochet, quarter cap and other vesture used by the Priests in saying mass would be intruded upon them” It was said that a majority voted against this Act on the apparel, and that it was “passed without pluralitie of suffrages.” The King denied this as a calumny “foule

¹ *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 31.

² *The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. v.

and blacke.”¹ A supplication against the obnoxious acts was, however, prepared, and exhibited to the King by the Earl of Rothes, the leader of the opposition. “No more of this, my Lord, I command you,” said his Majesty.²

Irritation and friction had indeed been rife, yet good work had been done by this Parliament. The King’s tithe or teind policy was finally adjusted upon its present basis, and the statute was passed for the endowment of parochial schools.

And now the King’s days in Scotland were drawing to a close. Despite his teind policy and his power over the Kirkmen’s apparel,—aye, even despite Bishop Laud’s candlesticks and his “four-nukit table in manner of ane altar,”—Charles’ northern subjects rejoiced at his visit. They had not only heartily welcomed him, and grandly crowned him, and expended £41,000 Scots in pageants and festivities, but they continued their hospitalities during his sojourn; as when, on June 23rd, Edinburgh gave a stately banquet to his Majesty, and on the following day liberally entertained his court to another feast, and after dinner an hilarious procession of “the provost, bailies, and councillors, ilk ane in uther hands, with bair heads, cam dancing down the High Street, with all sort of musick, trumpettouris, and drums,” and Charles, in his own grave, stately fashion, had reciprocated the affection

¹ *Large Declaration*, p. 12.

² In the following year, for possessing a copy of this supplication, Lord Balmerino was tried and condemned to death. His life was, however, spared by the King.

so kindly offered. He, with whom familiarity was impossible, had won veneration. He had done his best to ingratiate, he had hearkened to the addresses of the Edinburgh bailies, he had enjoyed a hunting tour among native hills and glens, and he who loved art, and was filling Whitehall and St James's and Hampton Court with masterpieces, sat at Holyrood for his portrait to George Jameson.

Without the remotest realization of the magnitude of the task he proposed to perform, the government of Scotland in all things "civil and ecclesiastical," Charles I. on the 18th of July departed from Edinburgh. So eager was the husband and father to return to the home life he loved so well, that at Berwick he left his cumbrous retinue, and with forty attendants rode post to Greenwich, where Henrietta Maria eagerly awaited him.

On October 14th a second son was born at St James's, and was christened James. While yet a babe, the future James VII. of Scotland and II. of England was created Duke of York and Lord High Admiral of England.

What, during this period, was the state of Scottish Catholics? It is briefly described as a state of suffering. We have seen the foundation of the Scots College in Rome in 1600, and Rome continued ever mindful of her afflicted northern child.

In 1633, a college was founded at Madrid by Colonel William Semple, but for various reasons the erection seems almost to have failed, and it was ultimately transferred to Valladolid. The Scots College at Paris owed its

existence to Bishop David de Moravia early in the 14th century, and the Scots College at Douai was founded in 1576, and, after removals to various places, was ultimately settled at Douai in 1608. When in the 14th and 15th centuries twelve Scoto-German religious houses had collapsed, the Monastery of St James at Ratisbon alone survived, and Erfurt and Wurzburg, having been restored, were re peopled with Scottish monks. Ninian Winzet, once schoolmaster at Linlithgow, who had done his best as a Catholic Reformer in Scotland before 1560, and who died Abbot of Ratisbon, recovered Erfurt. From one or other of these continental centres there were never lacking young men to offer themselves for the campaign, which implied the certainty of great hardships, the probability of imprisonment, fines, and tortures, and the possibility of death. The Jesuit stations in the North were Braemar, Glengairn, Strathglass, and Buchan ; and besides Jesuits and secular Priests, Benedictines, Franciscans, Capuchins, and Lazarists were scattered here and there in the Highlands and Islands. According to the report of 1628, the Franciscan Fathers reconciled no less than 10,269 Protestants.¹ The hardships endured by the missionaries as they wandered on foot from glen to glen were desperate, and for six months together oftentimes milk and water was their only drink, butter and cheese their principal food. There were many honoured names among those devoted ones, but the greater number are known to God alone. They have not appeared in the History of Scotland, but can we doubt that their names

¹ *Archiv. Propag. Acta*, vol. 61, 8 Maii 1628.

are written in the Book of Life? Amid the din of the sects, the *misereres* of the Catholics were drowned, and the records of the Church of God are scanty and obscure.

Amongst the famous Capuchins "who lodged meanly and fared lowly" appear as the converters of many souls Father Epiphanius Lindsay, who went about disguised as a shepherd, and Father George Leslie,¹ known as Archangel Leslie. Among the Jesuits are James and John Mambrecht, William Lesley and Andrew Leslie; and George Cone and Gilbert Blakhal were notable secular priests.

The secular priests, who frequently assumed disguise, wandered about according to necessity or inclination, and the life of both regulars and seculars was unsettled and precarious. Yet, that life was not without its enjoyments, despite its being fraught with special temptations and perils to the soul as well as to the body. There was the primary happiness of offering themselves victims for the salvation of souls, and subordinate to this there were circumstances which tended to mitigate the hard careers of the mission priests. "To be conscious, while arrayed in the buff coat of the trooper of the day, that they were engaged in a higher warfare, the warfare of ideas; to feel, as they dealt out the coarse medicines and simples of the medicinal skill of the times, that it was souls they really came to cure; to seek to elude the vigilance of the

¹ Father Leslie is said to have attained much celebrity in consequence of a foolish book, *Il Cappuccino Scozzese*, which went through several editions.

government by a clever disguise, and, in spite of penal laws and cruel enactments, to pull the strings of a great movement, was not without its charm . . ."¹ Frequently a refuge was gladly afforded to them in the Catholic Baron's home, and thither would resort for confession the faithful; and in some secret chamber, at the earliest morning hour, the Holy Sacrifice was offered, though the risk was ventured of imprisonment and beggary to all, and of death to the priest. At other times the ecclesiastic sought refuge beside the peasant's fireside; while being hunted from Highlands to Lowlands, he was often forced to change his abode from night to night. The maintenance of discipline and order was under these circumstances impossible, and unfortunately frequent collision between regulars and seculars further hindered and crippled the Scottish mission. The lives of laymen were no less afflicted than those of their spiritual fathers. From year's end to year's end many a faithful Catholic lived on, without the possibility of making a single confession, of receiving a single communion. When at last the long looked for priest appeared, it was at the peril of deprivation of the means of subsistence, of imprisonment, or of banishment that the fervently desired mercies were obtained. When the messenger of peace departed, leaving his blessing on the uplifted brow, the Catholic knew that if he ever returned, years must first pass away.

Parents saw their children torn from them to be

¹ See "Scottish Religious Houses Abroad," Bishop Forbes, *Edinburgh Review*, January 1864.

brought up in heresy, while they were powerless to interfere. Ingenious were the devices fallen upon to escape attendance at the Protestant services; and one, by feigning he had broken his leg, succeeded in staying at home for a year.¹ However, the penalties of non-attendance were so severe, that many Catholics went to the Protestant Church, incurring thereby the sin of disobedience, the moral dangers of the species of hypocrisy involved in this outward conformity, and the present punishment of an intolerably dismal service, and of listening to a sermon wherein the doctrines of the Faith were frequently blasphemed. Of a certain Catholic who thus acted it was said, "Meanwhile, he takes his portion in this life, though at the risk of that which is eternal."

The Marquis of Huntly, who was the great hope of the Northern Catholics, vacillated, outwardly at least, from side to side, and four times declared himself a Presbyterian, and four times a Catholic. He, however, died a Catholic on 15th June 1636. Amid all the afflictions of the faithful, the utter destruction which had fallen on the walls of Jerusalem must have been a primary one, and, like the Prophet Esaias, they might cry: "The city of Thy sanctuary is become a desert, Sion is made a desert, Jerusalem is desolate. The house of our holiness, and of our glory, where our fathers praised Thee, is burnt with fire, and all our lovely things are turned into ruins." A Scottish Benedictine religious speaks for all. Linger-

¹ See *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI.*, edit. William Forbes Leith, S.J.

ing amongst the ruins of the great Abbey of Aberbrothock he bewails "the deplorable state of the defaced and staggering steeples, the battered walls, broken down pillars, and the floor all overgrown with grass and defiled with filth," and "it hath once been a most royal, brave, and gorgeous church. 'O God, the house of our sanctification and glorie, where our fathers did praise and worship Thee, is made desert and burnt, and all our things worthy to be wished are turned to ruins.' But leaving it thus wasted and deplored, I will turn me and take a view of St Giles', wherein I see clearly fulfilled the prophecie of Daniel saying: 'And there shall be in the temple or church abomination of desolation . . .' Let us . . . suppose our Saviour Christ when he came into the Temple Jerusalem, did cast out all those who were buying and selling in it, and so heavily complained against them that He said: 'It is written, My House shall be called a House of Prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves;' how, I pray you, would He say if He were now entering in at St Giles', and looking at bare walls and pillars all clad with dust, sweepings, and cobwebs, instead of painting and tapestry; and on every side beholding the restless resorting of people treating of their worldly affairs, some writing and making obligations, contracts and discharges; others laying counts or telling over sums of money; and two and two walking and talking to and fro, some about merchandise or the laws, and too many, alas! about drinking and courting women. Yea, and about worse nor I can imagine . . .; and turning Him further towards the west end of the church, which is divided into a high house for the College of

Justice, called *the Session* or *Senahouse*, and a lower house, called the *low Tolbooth*, where the Baillies of the town used to sit and judge common actions and pleas in the one end thereof, and a number of harlots and scolds for flyting and whoredom inclosed in the other; and there I mean if our Saviour were present to behold such abominable desolation, that where altars were erected, and sacrifices with continual praises were wont to be offered up to the Lord in remembrance of that bloody sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, there now are holes for whores, and cages for scolds, where nothing is heard but banning and swearing, and everyone upbraiding another: O what grief and sorrow would our Lord take at the beholding of such profanation and sacrilege! How heavily would He complain that they have made His house not only a *den of thieves*, but a dungeon of devils; and would weep upon Edinburgh, as He did upon Jerusalem . . . as if He had said or now would say—‘If thou knewest, O Edinburgh, as I do, what mercy is offered thee, even this same day, thou wouldst not do as thou doest, but would presently accept thereof. But now this secret judgment of My Father, which abideth thee, is hidden from thee, and thereof thou makes little account until thy destruction shall come suddenly upon thee.’ And surely as the destruction foretold by Christ came soon thereafter upon the town of Jerusalem; even so it is to be feared, that the abominable profaning of God’s House, stiffness in heresie, and contempt of the Catholic religion (the only true worship of God) bring upon Edinburgh sudden revenge and destruction—seeing not a few of less scourges (as sometimes befell to Jerusalem) have already

overtaken them, which foretell a greater vengeance to follow, except they repent and turn unto God while they have time.”¹

¹ *A True Information of the unhallowed offspring, progresse, and impoisoned fruits of our Scottish-Calvinian gospel, and gospellers ; wherein the chief heads of religion now most controverted, or discussed : and the calumnies of the adversars (falsely blaming us for Idolatrie) are discovered.* By F. Alexander Baillie, Religiousse of the Order of St Benedict. Printed at Wirtsburgh, by Anne Marie Volmare, Widow, with licence. M. DC XXVIII.

CHAPTER II.

THE TWENTY-THIRD OF JULY 1637.

“Violent sorrow seems a modern ecstasy.”—*Macbeth*.

IN 1634 the Court of High Commission was re-established in Scotland, and about the same time nine of the prelates became Privy Councillors, while in 1635 Archbishop Spottiswood was called to the Chancellorship. These appointments were most unpopular, for the nobles regarded the Great Seal as their own special privilege ; and as to the new Privy Councillors, the anti-prelatic party lamented, in the plain language of the day, that “wicked, worthless, graceless, giftless men” should find their “shoulders broad enough, even in decrepited old age, to bear the burden both of kirk and state.”

On the death of George Abbot in 1633, William Laud was translated to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, William Juxon succeeding him in the See of London. Laud tells us that on the very day of his election to the Anglican Primacy, he received the offer of a cardinal’s hat ;¹ that the offer was repeated, when

¹ On the subject of the cardinal’s hat, Lingard, the greatest of English Catholic historians, says:—“I am inclined to think that the proposal of the cardinal’s hat came to the new Archbishop from Queen Henrietta, under the notion that there might be some truth

he says "my answer again was, that somewhat dwelt within me which would not suffer that till Rome was other than it is."¹

The strange ways and doings of the Church of the Northern nation were not forgotten by the King nor by the vigilant Primate of all England. The latter writes, on the 1st of December 1635, to Spottiswood, that the King was "very much displeased" because Bellenden, Bishop of Aberdeen, had permitted a fast in his diocese on a Sunday, when "his Majesty was settling that church against all things that were defective in it, and against the continuance of all unwarrantable customs unknown to and opposed by the ancient church of Christ." The scholarly Dr James Wedderburn, now Bishop of Dunblane, was appointed Dean of the "Chapell Royall" at Holyrood, and here a choral service and various æsthetic improvements were ventured upon, and the "whites," that is, the surplice and rochet, were to be worn, "notwithstanding the maliciousness of foolish men." Meanwhile, the compilation of a Book of Canons and a Liturgy was progressing, and in 1636 there appeared from Raban's Press in Aberdeen, *Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, Gathered and put in forme for the Government of the Church of Scotland: ratified and approved by His Majestie's Royall Warrant, and ordained to be observed by the clergie, and all others whom they concerne.* The way in which the book was likely to be

in the reports, which had been so long current, of Laud's secret attachment to the Roman Catholic creed."—Lingard, vol. ix. c.v.

¹ Archbishop Laud's *Diary*.

received is testified to by a minister's commentary on its contents. He begins by just indignation at the Canons being imposed "onlie by the sole and mere prerogative royall, not by a General Assemblie, nay, not by a conventicle of bishops and doctors; and they ascribe to the King (as head of the kirk) supreme authority in causes ecclesiasticall." The King was not by law the head of the Kirk of Scotland. The book "speaks of Holie Orders even as heartilie welcoming the Popish sacrament." "Baptism to be administered at any hour (of night or day) . . . does much foster the Popish opinion of the necessitie of Baptism, and also the celebration of it in privat corners as a witch's charme; . . . communion must be at Pasch, whereby Papists are much confirmed in their superstition. . . . If the elements be common before and after the action, what means all this circumspection in handling them? . . . If they be not transubstantiated, what needs all this, or why else to be received kneeling? . . . No minister shall presume to conceive a prayer *ex tempore*, under pain of deprivation. . . . A font is commanded to be near the entrie of the church (stay a little, and anon we shall come to the sprinkling of holie consecrated water upon every entrant). . . . See with what reverent respect the Anti-Christian prelate speaks of days of anti-Christian darkness or Poperie. . . . The Communion is discharged to be before the pulpit in the bodie of the kirk, where people might hear and see (for that were not so mass-lyke), but at the upper end of the chancel, far remote fra the people, where they may mumble their masse, and that it may the better resemble *Sanctum Sanctorum* in the far end of the

Temple of Jerusalem, for it is known that Poperie (to whilk now we was fast posting) is nothing but a miscel-lanic farrago of Judaisme and Paganisme. . . . One of the Popishly-affected Bishops . . . said, 'try them first with some of Rome's words, and if they scare not at the words, they will probably take with the thing.' . . . A singular care had, that the house of God be no ways profaned,* nay, nor the churchyard. . . . They do not profess to censure drunkenness, except it be common. . . . Finallie, in all the Canons not once mention of an Ruling Elder, an office whilk Bishops detest, because they love to see profanitie grow, increase, abound, that theirs may be the less taken notice of; no word of a Session, . . . no word of a Presbyterie, . . . yea, now also the Brethren of the Exercise is buried in deep oblivion; . . . and lastly, the General Assemblie . . . is in effect abolished; for now since 1618, that is, for eighteen years, we have had no assemblie at all, because the king was not pleased to call one."¹

If even the English Bishop Juxon predicted that the book might "make more noise than all the Canons in Edinburgh Castle," well might the stout hearts of the anti-prelatists be filled with dismay. Their cherished practices, notably Sabbath fasts, replete with salutary gloom, must cease; "conceived prayer," with its subtle fascination to garrulous human nature, was discouraged, if not prohibited; their beloved Genevan Bible must give place to the English version of 1611, translated by English Erastians; their "Psalmes of David" "per-

¹ Row, p. 392-395.

fited " by Sternhold and Hopkins, to the same Psalms "perfited " by King James. Now, one *form* of public prayer was to bind all with iron *uniformity*, and, with insulting tyranny, men were called to give unreasoning, blind obedience to a Book of Common Prayer not yet in existence, while far worse than privations, novelties, and humiliations, were the evident indications of the speedy return of the "Man of Sin," minus the head. Even had the Book contained nothing to startle, the way in which it was introduced, on the sole authority of the King, without the advice or consent of cleric or layman, passing no seal, formally approved by no one save his Majesty, was sufficient to exasperate all excepting the most servile of Erastians. It has been truly said that the religion of the kingdom was thus laid at the foot of the throne.

The events of 1636, which included the publication of a new Book of Ordination, were but preliminaries to the great ecclesiastical experiment which was to be ventured on in 1637, and was to start with the introduction of a new prayer-book. The King and Laud were desirous of introducing the English Book of Common Prayer into Scotland, but the Scottish bishops knew the history of their country too well not to anticipate the antipathy wherewith a work sent direct from England, and copied direct from an English model, might be received, and it was decided to prepare an independent Liturgy. "For we," said the King, "supposing that they might have taken some offence if we should have rendered them the English Service Booke *totidem verbis*, and that some factious spirits would have endeavoured to have miscon-

strued it as a badge of dependance of that church upon this of England, which we had put upon them to the prejudice of their laws and liberties, we held it better that a new Booke should be composed by their own Bishops, in substance not differing from this of England, that so the Roman party might not upbraid us with any weightie or materiall differences in Our Liturgies, and yet in some few insensible alterations differing from it, that it might truly and justly be reputed a Booke of that Churches owne composing, and established by Our Royall Authority, as King of Scotland.”¹ . . . Laud had a task after his own heart, the compilation of a fancy new prayer-book, and diligently he set to work, assisted by Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane, Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and Wren and Juxon, Bishops of Norwich and London. As the great and interesting work proceeded, the King instructed and directed. Regarding the Kalendar he commands, . . . “That in the Kalendar you keep out such Catholic saints as are in the English, that you pester it not with too many, but such as you insert of the peculiar saints of that our kingdom, that they may be of the most approved, and hereto have regard to those of the blood-royall, and such holy bishops in every see most renowned. But in no case omit St George and Patrick.”² The result of the united labours was “The Booke of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other parts of Divine Service for the Use of the Church of Scotland,” also known as “Laud’s

¹ *Large Declaration*, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*

Liturgy," as "that noble and beautiful but ill-fated Liturgy," as "this obnoxious publication," "that fatal book," "a Black, Popish, and superstitious service book," "this Popish-English-Scotish Masse-Service Booke," "the fatal torch which put the two kingdoms into flame," "the Rubric indeed dyed with the blood of so many of both nations slain on that account."¹

The principal points in which the publication differed from the English Book of Common Prayer were, that in the Communion rite a direct invocation of the Holy Spirit preceded the recitation of the words of institution, and that after these words there was a "Memorial or Prayer of Oblation." The good minister who was so shocked by the canons was doubly so by the Liturgy. Thus he bewails the "29 holie days equalised in holiness to the 52 Sabbaths . . . but the Service Book loves rather the pagan word Sunday . . ." the days "dedicated to the blessed Virgine, who being sometimes styled Our Ladie, and not being a ladie to Christians on earth, it must be in heaven : is not this to make her Queen of Heaven, or a goddess? . . . so the bishops will have us keep one anniversarie day to the memorie of all Popish saints . . ." He is grieved by "the superstitious and idolatrous ceremonie of Cross in Baptisme, by bishopping,

¹ See *Large Declaration*, p. 18. *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, George Grub, vol. ii. *Spalding*, vol. ii. p. 47. *Balfour's Annales*, vol. ii. p. 226. Burnet, vol. i. p. 36. Row, p. 192. Prynne's *Life of Laud*, p. 158. Sprott's *Scottish Liturgies of James VI.* Lees' *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 248. Dr Dowden's *Historical Account of the Scottish Communion Office.* *Hinde let Loose*, p. 76.

or the Popish Sacrament of Confirmation, by the laying on of the Bishop's holie hands upon little children . . . by the marriage ring, the sanctified font, holie water, holiness of churches and chancels, private baptism, private communion, ceremonies for burial of the dead, and purification of women after childbirth; the priest sometimes standing, sometimes kneeling, sometimes turning to the people, and, consequentlie, sometimes from them; . . . the people must stand up at Gospells, *Gloria Patri*, and at Creeds; their answering to the Minister with *Responsoria* and *Antiphona*; . . ."; and finally, "The Service Book hath a Litanie more like unto conjuring nor prayers."¹

At the beginning of the Book was a high-handed "Proclamation" commanding "all our subjects both ecclesiastical and civil . . . to conform themselves to the said Forme of Worship, which is the only Forme which we (having taken the counsel of our clergy) think fit to be used in God's Public Worship in this our kingdom," and at the end of it were "the Psalmes of King David, translated by King James."

Early in 1637, the Book was in existence, and did great credit to the press of Robert Young, the Edinburgh printer. What must have been the delight of the King and the Primate when they beheld their finished work, and first opened the folio, printed in black and red, in the old Gothic letters, and profusely adorned with "a vast variety of curiously cut Head-Pieces, Finis's, Blooming-Letters, Fac-totums, Flowers, . . ." ²—the lovely page,

¹ Row, pp. 400-403.

² *History of the Bassandyne Bible*, by W. T. Dobson, p. 171.

despite its freshness, suggestive of the illuminated missal of a mediæval Scriptorium? "I like the Book exceeding well," said Laud, "and hope I shall be able to maintain anything that is in it."¹ The King sat down by his wife and spent a whole evening in prevailing upon her to examine it with him, and to acknowledge how much was taken from her own Catholic Liturgy.²

In the preceding year an Act of the Privy Council had decreed the universal use of the Book on pain of condign punishment, and that "everie Parish betwixt and Pasche next, procure unto themselves twa at the least of the said Bookes of Common Prayer. . . ." The Act was premature, for we find an able and sagacious minister, Robert Baillie, writing on the 29th of January 1637, ". . . to this day we cannot get ane sight of that Booke,"³ and this delay was a fatal mistake. Awful rumours were floating about, while the people set themselves in an attitude of defiance to prepare for the worst, and to discuss at their leisure the possible contents of the mysterious volume. No doubt speculations on the subject were freely indulged in during the long winter evenings at the tables of the gentry, and in the taverns of the city, and if we may judge from the part taken in resistance to the Liturgy by the old women of Edinburgh, its discussion formed a theme for sapient council over the distaff. At one time there were hopes that "the Bishop of Edin-

¹ *Works*, iii. 335.

² See "Abrégé des Révolutions d'Angleterre," by Queen Henrietta Maria, in *Madame de Motteville*, vol. i. p. 25.

³ *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, edit. Laing, vol. i. p. 4.

burgh, chiefly had obtained that we should be quyte of the surplice, Cross, Apocrypha, Saints' days, and some other trashe of the English Liturgie"; but now it was all but certain that the Scottish Service only differed from the English "in additions of sundry more Popish rites . . . we must cross in baptisme, have ring in marriage, etc., . . . holy water to stand in the font; at the delyverie of the elements there is ane other, and that a very ambiguous prayer, as they say, looking much to Transubstantiation; the deacon, on his knees, must in ane offertorie, present the devotions of the people to the Lord upon this altar or table. . . . These which are averse from the ceremonies, whereof there are great numbers, yea, almost all our nobilitie and gentrie of both sexes, counts that Booke little better than the Masse. . . ."¹ At length, towards Easter, the long-promised volume was ready, and copies were soon passing from hand to hand, while many "makes it their text daily, to shew the multitude of the Popish poynts contained in the Booke, the grossness of it far beyond the English. . . ." The city of Edinburgh was inundated with pamphlets against it, and still its use in the churches had not begun. "I would rather think," says Baillie, "that some of our Bishops makes delay, as not being at a full point themselves what they would have in, and what out."² There was no desire to anticipate the evil day. Finally, the bishops met, and decided that on Sunday, the 23rd of July, the reading of the Liturgy should commence in the churches of Edinburgh, "to the end

¹ *Baillie*, vol. i. p. 4.² *Ibid.*

that the Lords of Session and others who had any law business might see the success before the rising of the summer session, which rises August first." Timely intimation was to be given from the pulpits on the previous Sunday. The reader in St Giles duly prepared the congregation for the catastrophe by reading the public prayer daily throughout the week, "with many tears," and certain ministers refused to read the edict, or scornfully flung it down to the reader. "I counsel you," wrote a minister (Samuel Rutherford) to his parishioners, "countenance not the surplice, the attire of the mass-priest, the garment of Baal's priests; the abominable bowing to altars of tree is coming upon you: forbear in any case to hear the reading of the new fatherless Service Book, full of gross heresies, Popish superstitions, errors without any warrant of Christ. . . . Sew no clouts upon Christ's robe."

At eight o'clock on that summer morning, the 23rd of July 1637, than which none more fatal ever dawned in Great Britain, the usual congregation had assembled in the High Kirk of St Giles, Edinburgh. Henderson, a favourite reader, read the familiar prayers from the Book of Common Order, and, then, his eyes filled with tears, as he closed the volume, exclaimed: "Adieu, good people, for I think this is the last time of my reading prayers in this place!" By ten o'clock, many others had arrived, including the Archbishop of St Andrews, Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, and Brechin, the other Privy Councillors, the Lords of Session, and the Magistrates. All was quiet, when Dr Hanna, Dean of Edinburgh, clad in a surplice, entered the

reading-desk, and opened the large, new, and much-dreaded Prayer Book. Murmurs and grumbings were only half-suppressed until he began to read the Collect for the day, "Lord of all power and might who art the Author and Giver of all good things," when a thick hailstorm of cries, clapping of angry hands, and general maledictions arose. "The Mass is entered among us, and Baal in the church," shrieked some; "Woe, woe, and sorrow for this doleful day; they are bringing in Popery among us!" yelled others; "the gentlewomen did fall a tearing and crying," while low, coarse females united in increasing the uproar, and stools and clasped Bibles were pitched at the helpless reader in his desk. Indeed "it was constantly believed that many of the lasses that carried on the fray were 'prentices in disguise, for they threw stools to a great length."¹ Without delay the Bishop of Edinburgh ascended the pulpit, and entreated the people to remember that they were in the house of God, and the clamour rising higher and higher, the Magistrates came down from their gallery and forcibly expelled the worst of the rioters. The doors were then shut and the service proceeded with, while the mob raged and surged outside, banged at the doors, and threw stones against the windows. It was now a question as to how the ministers were to get home alive. This they did with great difficulty. Dean Hanna threw off his surplice and fled, amid yells of "crafty fox," "ill-hanged thief! if, at that time when thou wentest to court, thou hadst been weel hanged, thou hadst not been here to be a

¹ *Analecta*, by the Rev. Robert Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 64.

pest to God's Church to-day." When he got to the street, the Bishop of Edinburgh was thrown down by the women and rolled in the mud, and the Magistrates met hastily together in a panic to consult what was to be done. In the evening Bishop Lindsay managed to read the service in peace, but when he left St Giles he "had better been besieged by a hive of bees," when the Earl of Roxburgh drew him into his coach, and while the rabble sent a shower of stones gathered from the Tron Kirk, which was then building, drove him at full speed down the High Street.

On Monday morning the Privy Council met, and a dispatch was rapidly prepared for London. Meanwhile the city was "put under ane Episcopal interdict." "The haill kirk doorris of Edinburgh was lokkit, and no more preaching hard. The zealous Puritans flokit ilk Sunday to heir devotion in Fyff."¹

The King's answer to the Privy Council was anxiously expected, but those were days of slow communication, and not till the 4th of August did the royal letter arrive. His Majesty rebuked the rioters, and commanded that the Service Book should be enforced. But neither royal, episcopal, nor civic commands could save the doomed volume. When William Annand, minister at Ayr, defended it in a sermon at Glasgow, he well nigh lost his life at the hands of "30 or 40 of our honestest women," who "did fall in railing, cursing, scolding," and assailing him "with neaves, and staves, and peats . . . beat him sore." The Bishop of Brechin went to the pulpit "with

¹ *Baillie*, vol. i. p. 18.

his pistols, his servant," and, as the report goes, "his wife with weapons," and on leaving the church was so nearly killed, "he durst never try that play over again." Already Baillie could anticipate "a bloodie civil war," and he declared, "I think our people possessed with a bloodie devil, far above anything that ever I could have imagined tho' the Masse in Latin had been presented. . . ."¹

During August tranquillity prevailed, in Edinburgh at least. The Court of Session having arisen, the city was then, as now, silent and deserted in that month—many had gone to the country where the people were busy with an early harvest. In August the first of a long series of petitions against the Liturgy (before 20th of September they were to number sixty-eight) was issued. When harvest was well advanced, the "conflux of . . . nobilitie, gentrie, ministers, and burgesses" from all parts of the kingdom, came to be so great at Edinburgh, and "after such a tumultuous manner as that a present insurrection was justly feared."²

On October 17th the Council issued three Proclamations which produced great irritation. On the 18th, Thomas Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway, who was esteemed, "a Papist loon, a Jesuit loon, a betrayer of religion," was almost rent in pieces as he was proceeding to the Council House. He was very unpopular because "it went braid and wyde . . . that he did wear under his coat upon his breast a crucifix of gold." "For all this,"

¹ *Baillie*, vol. i. p. 23.

² *Large Declaration*, p. 32.

adds Baillie, "I do not believe it,"¹ as if he thought so awful a charge impossible of credence, and would not malign the man's character so far, as he had an "old respect"² for him. With extreme hazard the bishop reached the Council House, the citizens vowing they would kill him and all if they did not subscribe a paper against the Service Book, and tearing from the Lord Treasurer his hat, cloak, and white staff, amid wild cries of "God defend all those who will defend God's cause, and God confound the Service Book and all the maintainers of it!"

The supplicants, as the opponents of the Liturgy were now called, prepared a Great Supplication in name of the "Noblemen, Gentry, and Burgesses" against the Service Book and the Canons, and simultaneously another petition appeared in name of the "men, women, and children and servants, indwellers within the Burgh of Edinburgh." The supplicants further strengthened their cause by forming themselves into four classes, the nobles, barons, burgesses, and clergy, which they called *THE TABLES*.

During the early part of the winter of 1637-38 the Lord Treasurer was in London, in earnest deliberation at headquarters over the great supplication. In February he returned, and the Proclamation of King Charles, which was a severe condemnation of the supplicants, was made at Stirling on the 19th of the month, and afterwards at Linlithgow and Edinburgh. Jeers of contempt and defiance accompanied the reading of the Proclamation at the Cross of Edinburgh. Thus was failing the attempt of

¹ *Baillie*, vol. i. p. 16.

² *Large Declaration*, p. 37.

King Charles I. to introduce a new Service Book into Scotland, and to dictate to the Scottish nation the form of religion they were to adopt ; in other words, by an autocratic stroke to subvert the ecclesiastical discipline which, under different names but with essentially the same forms and doctrines, had prevailed in the country since it had deliberately severed itself from the Catholic Church. Well would it have been for the King and his subjects had he hearkened to Lord Loudon's words, "Sire, the people of Scotland will obey you in everything with the utmost cheerfulness, provided you do not touch their religion and conscience." The bishops of James VI. and Charles I. had been created by the State to uphold the State, and in their country's hour of need they exhibited neither spirituality nor patriotism. The pitiful Erastianism of Archbishop Spottiswood was a broken reed to lean upon. "What needed this resistance?" asked the Protestant Primate feebly. "If the King would turn Papist we behoved to obey. Who could resist princes?"¹ Yet he and his fellow bishops, who were now powerless to support the tottering throne had been called into existence for its sake, not for any form of religion. Now they were inadequate to save either throne or pulpit.

¹ The Earl of Rothes's *Relation of Proceedings concerning the affairs of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 10.

CHAPTER III.

THE NATIONAL COVENANT, AND THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY OF 1638.

“ The sight is dismal,
And our affairs from England come too late.”

—MACBETH.

THE opponents of the Liturgy were thoroughly in earnest. Pre-eminent amongst the ministers appear Alexander Henderson, a wise and capable man ; Samuel Rutherford, “ the poet, theologian, and preacher of the Covenant ” ; Robert Baillie, whose gossiping, clever letters exhibit shrewd insight into affairs ecclesiastical and civil ; David Calderwood, David Dickson, Robert Blair, John Livingstone, George Gillespie, William Guthrie, and Andrew Cant. Amongst the leading laymen were Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyll ; the Earl of Loudon, Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, and the able lawyer, Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall.

The “ grand result and conclusion of the Tables ” arrived at in Edinburgh, February 1638, was the National Covenant. Bonds or associations of strength, both religious and political, had received much favour in Scotland, and the Reformation was not yet established, when, in 1556, in the house of the Laird of Dun, several

gentlemen of the Mearns entered into a "solemn and mutual bond, in which they renounced the Popish Communion, and engaged to maintain and promote the pure preaching of the Gospel." Again, in 1557, we find the "Congregation of Christ" solemnly united in a bond against the "Congregation of Sathan," and finally, the greatest of these early bonds, the National Covenant or King's Confession, was signed in 1581. With the Lords of the Congregation as their rearguard and example, the proceedings of the Tables were now replete with policy and sagacity.

The National Covenant was prepared by Henderson and Warriston, and revised by the Lords Loudon, Rothés, and Balmerino. It consisted of the Covenant of 1581, "worde for worde," of a summary of all Acts of Parliament in favour of the reformed religion, and promises were made to support each other, and to defend the King. The League of 1581 appealed to the dearest passion of the Protestant heart—the one link of union which never failed—loathing of the Church of God, and for its language, which was specially ferocious and blasphemous, the Covenanters, much as they doubtless admired it, were not responsible. For the profuse professions of loyalty wherewith it was accompanied they claimed the credit.

In the churchyard of the Greyfriars in Edinburgh, still hallowed by the memories of the fervent sons of St Francis of Assisi, close to the spot where they had once taken their triple vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, "for the love of God and of St Francis," on the afternoon of the 28th of February 1638, a vast multi-

tude was assembling. When all had gathered in, and silence was obtained, Henderson stood up in their midst, and "verrie powerfullie and pertinentlie" prayed. Immediately afterwards Lord Loudon made a speech, and the Covenant was read aloud. The preliminaries were long, for it was four o'clock when the aged Earl of Sutherland took up a pen and signed the Covenant in the Church. Others signed then and there, and the heavy parchment, fifteen feet square and four feet long, was carried out and spread on a flat tombstone and with eager hands, which had first been uplifted to Heaven, a vast multitude signed, while each swore by the great name of the Lord his God. "Great was the day of Jezreel. It was a day when the arm of the Lord was revealed."¹ When the parchment was closely filled on both sides, initials were scratched round the margin, and though darkness soon set in, it was nine o'clock till the work was suspended for the night. Next day copies of the Covenant were distributed all over the city, and at every gate lords and lairds rode forth, the Covenant in their pockets or knapsacks, intent on extorting signatures from all and sundry. The people seemed suddenly to have gone demented. "Many subscribed with tears on their cheeks, and it is certainly reported that some did draw their own blood, and used it in place of ink to underwryte their names," declaring in their excitement that they had "joined themselves to the Lord in an everlasting Covenant that shall not be forgotten," and adding "till

¹ Wilson's *Defence of Reformation Principles*, p. 244.

death" after their names. However, it must not be forgotten that many were required to sign under pressure of threats of excommunication in this world and eternal damnation in the next, and that among the subscribers were children under ten years of age.

Those who refused to sign were esteemed "no better than Papists," and treated "with what threatnings, with what beating, tearing of the clothes, drawing of the blood, and exposing to thousands of injuries and reproaches at Edinburgh, St Andrews, Glasgow, Lanarick, and many places more. . . ." The minister of Colinton was attacked in Edinburgh, ". . . he was suspected by some to have spoken somewhat in favour of the Virgin Mary," and Dr Monro of St Andrews received "blood and wounds."¹ The Universities of St Andrews and Aberdeen condemned the Covenant; by Catholics it was "received with infinite joy," and by Protestants abroad "with most offensive scandal and infinite grief."² Well might Archbishop Spottiswood exclaim, "All which we have been attempting to build up during these thirty years by-past is now at once thrown down!"³ Indeed the very name of a bishop was "more odious among old and young than the Devil's," and the archiepiscopal city of St Andrews was "Satan's seat," "where Satan dwelleth." Attempts to enforce the Service Book had

¹ See *Large Declaration*, pp. 72, 73; *Roth's Relation*, pp. 70, 80; *History of Scots Affairs*, by James Gordon Parson of Rothiemay, vol. i. pp. 43, 44.

² *Large Declaration*, p. 75.

³ *Bishop Guthrie's Memoirs*, p. 35.

to be abandoned. In the Chanonrie Kirk of Ross, all the Books were torn in pieces, and flung into the river Ness. To add to the widespread distraction certain Scots resident in Ireland had returned, and at their unauthorised meetings in the West of Scotland, sedition was preached, any remaining forms in public worship were dispensed with, and "Irish novations" were introduced, to the dismay of peaceable and old-fashioned Scots, who had been contented with the Book of Common Order.¹

The Covenant was barely in existence when the Privy Council despatched Sir John Hamilton, the Lord Justice-Clerk, to London, with news of the "general combustions" in the country, "by occasion of the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and High Commission." Several of the bishops speedily and prudently followed over the Borders, and the ministers sent off John Livingstone with copies of the Covenant for the English. A document signed by the Earls of Rothes, Cassillis, and Montrose, with the demands of the Covenanters, also appeared in London. Even Archbishop Laud was taking alarm, and he enters in his diary in April: "The tumults in Scotland about the Service Book . . . began July 23rd, 1637, and continued increasing by fits, and hath now brought that kingdom in danger. No question but that there is a great concurrence between them and the Puritan party in England."

After earnest deliberation with the Scottish magnates,

¹ See *The Worship of the Church of Scotland during the Covenanting Period*, G. W. Sprott.

the King selected, as his Commissioner for Scotland, his own kinsman of tried fidelity, James, third Marquis of Hamilton. On the 6th of June Hamilton arrived at Dalkeith, "with power to settle all." It was at an unfortunate moment, for the Covenanters were specially irritated by the appearance of a vessel at Leith with a small supply of arms and powder, devised, they alleged, for their destruction. In every way the portentous nature of his task was at once apparent to the Commissioner. On the 9th of June, as he proceeded by the sands of Musselburgh and Leith to Holyrood House, he passed between grim battalions of more than 500 Covenanted ministers, in their black cloaks, and backed up by 20,000 people. The ministers had selected Livingstone, as being the "strongest of voice and austere of countenance," to deliver a speech, but Hamilton declined to hear it in public.¹ Settled at Holyrood, he began business with the Covenanters at once, and early found out what manner of Christians he had to deal with, when they declared that "they would rather renounce their Baptisme"² than renounce the Covenant. When it was discovered that he intended to hear divine service and sermon in the Chapel Royal on Sunday, notice was sent to him on the previous Saturday that whosoever should read the English Service in that chapel "should never read more."³ That same evening the Commissioner thought it wise to retire to Dalkeith,

¹ *Baillie*, vol. i. p. 83.

² *Large Declaration*, p. 87.

³ *Ibid*, p. 88.

and next day assisted there at the "English Divine Service." After many delays it was resolved that the Royal Proclamation should be read on the 4th of July, at the Cross of Edinburgh, while the Courts of Justice, which had been temporarily removed, were brought back to the capital. The "prayers and sermons" of the ministers were now "so many libels," and they were doing their utmost to stir up the people to sedition, and to fill the streets of Edinburgh with noisy mobs, armed with swords and pistols. When, therefore, on the afternoon of the day appointed, the trumpets sounded for the Proclamation of Charles I. they were angry and discontented citizens who swarmed round the scaffold erected near the Cross. The King assured his good subjects that "We neither were, are, nor by the Grace of God ever shall be stained with Popish superstition; but by the contrary, are resolved to maintain the true Protestant Christian religion already profest within this Our ancient Kingdome. . . . We do hereby assure all men, that We will neither now nor hereafter presse the practice of the foresaid Canons and Service Booke, nor anything of that nature, but in such a faire and legall way as shall satisfie all Our loving subjects that We neither intend innovation in Religion or Lawes. . . ." ¹ The last words of the Proclamation were hardly uttered when another scaffold was speedily constructed out of planks and puncheons lying ready on the street, and the Laird of Warriston mounted the erection, and read the inevitable Protestation against the Proclamation. The

¹ *Large Declaration*, p. 97.

distractions of the nation were on the rapid increase, and at every cost, and by every device, the Covenanters were resolved to have their own way. As the King truly said, “. . . they will continue obedient subjects, if We will part from Our Sovereigntie; which is in effect that they will obey if We will suffer them to command.”¹ About this time Laud writes to Wentworth: “The Scottish Business is extream ill indeed, and what will become of it God knows, but certainly no good, and his Majestie has been notoriously betrayed.”²

The Commissioner set off to London for instructions, and returned in August, accompanied by Dr Walter Balcanquhall, Dean of Rochester, and bearing the royal commands for the general subscription of the Confession of 1560. He found the Covenanters more and more insatiable in their demands and, baffled, he again departed for London. These repeated journeys between Edinburgh and London implied great fatigue and still greater patience. It was not, in 1638, a question of falling asleep in Edinburgh and waking up next morning in London, of reaching St James's within ten hours after leaving Holyrood; but it meant irksome imprisonment in a rolling and lumbering coach, or perhaps fifty miles a day first on one horse and then on another; and as days and nights dragged on, it meant intense anxieties as to what turn events might be taking in Scotland, which couriers, not telegrams, tardily alleviated or increased before the travel-stained Marquis of Hamilton entered the King's presence, the bearer of portentous news.

¹ *Large Declaration*, p. 110.

² *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii. p. 185.

In Hamilton's negotiations with Charles I., it is painful to read the secret instructions of his Majesty regarding the Covenanters. "I give you leave to flatter them with what hopes you please," he wrote to his Commissioner; and then added in the same letter, "I will rather die than yield to those impertinent and damnable demands."¹ But the Covenanters were stronger than Charles I., and his all but absolute surrender was at hand. He now announced: "We do absolutely revoke the Service Book, the Book of Canons, and the High Commission." He discharged the articles of Perth, agreed to call a General Assembly, and enjoined all to sign the Negative Confession of 1581, with the Bond annexed thereto. The surrender is dated the 9th of September 1638, and the King signed the Negative Confession. This document, which the Anglican King, with his High Church primate at his elbow, signed, and which, in obedience to the royal commands, was signed by the Scottish bishops, and by 28,000 Scottish subjects, was replete with profanities against the Church of God; in other words, "more directly opposite to Poperie than any Confession extant in the world."² The subscribers declared, ". . . We abhor and detest all kind of Papistry . . . but in special we detest and refuse the usurped authority of the Roman Antichrist . . . his five bastard sacraments . . . his absolute necessity of Baptism; his blasphemous opinion of Transubstantiation, or Real Presence

¹ See *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, by Gilbert Burnet, p. 55.

² *Large Declaration*, p. 128.

of Christ's Body in the Elements ; . . . his cruelty against the innocent divorced, his devilish mass, his blasphemous priesthood, his profane sacrifice for the sins of the dead and quick, . . . dedicating of kirks, altars, days, . . . prayers for the dead . . . his processions, and blasphemous Litany . . . auricular confession . . . his holy water, crossing, sainting, anointing, . . . hallowing of God's good creatures . . . his three solemn vows, with all his shavelings of sundry sorts. . . ."¹

Certain of the Covenanters were not above availing themselves of the ravings of an hysterical girl, Margaret Mitchelson, who was "troubled with vapours." Declaring herself to be inspired, she lay prostrate, face downwards on a feather bed, talked of a "Covenanting Jesus," and though many were ashamed of her divinations, her language was not unlike the coarse style of some of those who figured as "The Ladies of the Covenant." The "godly" were also considerably agitated, because a Bible had been recently printed in Edinburgh containing sacred pictures, and this was only a step towards worshipping graven images.

There was one city in Scotland which was strenuous in resistance to the Covenanters and all their ways. This was Aberdeen, the good city of Bon Accord. The ministers sent thither a mission, headed by one whom they were ere long to know as "that excommunicated traitor, bloody butcher, and viperous brood of Satan, James Graham," Earl of Montrose, but who was for the

¹ See *King's Confession*.

present on their side, and under the spiritual guidance of the "three Apostles of the Covenant," Henderson, Dickson, and Cant. The hospitable northern city had prepared a collation, the "Cup of Bon Accord," to welcome the deputation, but the surly Covenanters declined this courtesy, whereupon the Provost "caused deal the wine in the bede-house, among the poor men, which they had disdainfully refused, whereof the like was never done to Aberdeen, in no man's memory." The six doctors of the Aberdeen University, John Forbes of Corse, Alexander Scroggie, William Leslie, Robert Baron, James Sibbald, and Alexander Ross, prepared fourteen demands concerning the lawfulness of the Covenant. The Covenanters answered the questions, the doctors replied to them, the Covenanters replied to the doctors, and finally the dreary conflict was ended by the doctors publishing replies to the Covenanters.¹ The Aberdeen doctors, who were rather staggered at the language of the Negative Confession, accompanied their signatures by an explanation.

George Gordon, Marquis of Huntly, was proof against the lures or threats of the Covenanters. "My house," said the loyal chief, "has risen by the Kings of Scotland. It has ever stood for them, and with them shall fall."

The Marquis of Hamilton was inscrutable. He is reported to have wept at sight of the 20,000 Covenanters who met him on his approach to Holyrood, and

¹ See Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, vol. i. pp. 82-96; and *Spalding*, vol. i. pp. 91-100.

to have said he desired "to have King Charles present at that sight of the whole country, so earnestly and humbly crying for the safetie of their Liberties and Religion." This was in June 1638, and on the 27th of November he thus wrote to his Majesty: "It is more than probable that these people have somewhat else in their thoughts than religion, but this must serve for *a cloak to rebellion* . . . but to *make them miserable*, and bring them again to a dutiful obedience, I am confident your Majesty will not find it a work of long time, nor of great difficulty. . . ." He stated that the leaders of the Covenanters were "Roths, Balmerino, Lindsay, Lothian, Loudon, Yester, Cranston," and, strange as it sounds in view of after events, "none more vainly foolish than Montrose."¹

And now the Covenanters set about preparations for a much desired General Assembly, with a high hand. They maintained that no lawful Assembly had met for thirty years, and directions were issued to the Kirk Sessions to send lay elders. A tremendous indictment was drawn up against the bishops, "grounded upon corrupt doctrine, Arminianism, Poperie, superstition and will worship."² They were accused of "excessive drinking, whoring, playing at cards and dice, swearing, profane speaking, . . . profaning of the Sabbath . . . besides with bribery, simony, . . . lies, perjuries, dishonest dealing, . . . abusing of their vassals, and of adultery and incest"; and

¹ *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, by Mark Napier, vol. i. p. 99.

² *Spalding*, vol. i. p. 88.

indictment which, an historian well observes, was "odious, if it had been true."¹ These abominable calumnies against men, many of them venerable for their piety, learning and years, were appointed to be read in all the pulpits on a Communion Sunday.

Glasgow was chosen for the great Assembly, and by the 16th of November ministers, elders, nobles, lairds, were arriving, and the western city was soon thronged. On Wednesday, 21st, the mighty concourse began to take their seats within the glorious cathedral which the faith and love of a bygone age had dedicated, in all the beauty of the Catholic Church, to the glory of God and the honour of St Kentigern. Man had been for eighty years seated in the central place of the temple of the Most High. The eyes which would once have been turned to the altar of God, were now fixed on the pulpit which had taken its place, and which to-day had a threatened rival in the stately chair of the Royal Commissioner. No one entered without a lead ticket, declaring that he or she was "ane Covenanter."

The ministers were by no means attired in the black gowns of their order, and many of them and of the ruling elders came prudently provided with swords and daggers. The Marquis of Hamilton "judged it was a sad sight."² As they were assembling, Robert Baillie declared that there was "such din and clamour in the house of the true God, that if they minded to use the like behaviour in my chamber, I could not be content till they were down

¹ *Spalding*, vol. i. p. 88.

² See *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 88.

the stair . . . we might learn from Canterburie, yea from the Pope, from the Turks or Pagans, modestie and manners ; at least their deep reverence in the house they call God's ceases not till it have led them to the adoration of the timber and stones of the place."¹ The Assembly consisted of one hundred and forty ministers, two professors, and one hundred and ninety-eight ruling elders. Alexander Henderson was Moderator, the Laird of Warriston clerk. In his chair of state presided, as Lord Commissioner, the Marquis of Hamilton, a crowd of nobles attended, while young lords and ladies, and many of lowlier degree, filled the galleries, and looked down on "the proud pageant of triumphant presbytery."

On the 27th the bishops' declinature of the Assembly's authority was given in, and the Commissioner, finding that the ministers were proceeding to censure the prelates, declared the Assembly dissolved, and immediately withdrew. The ministers utterly ignored the royal dissolution, and, strengthened by winning over the Earl of Argyll (who now acted practically as Commissioner), business was systematically entered into.

On the 20th of December the Assembly rose, having completed its defiant, violent work. The Assemblies, from 1606 to 1618, as having met under court influence, were declared null and void. The Service Book, the Canons, the Ordinal, the High Commission, Episcopacy, the Articles of Perth, were all condemned, along with "chapters, archdeans, preaching deacons, and such like

¹ *Baillie*, vol. i. pp. 123, 124.

Popish trash." After these sweeping measures came on the trials of "the pretended archbishops and bishops." The Archbishop of St Andrews, "besides his common faults," "of ordinaire profaning of the Sabbath, carding and dicing in time of divine service, riding through the country the whole day, tippling and drinking in taverns till midnight, . . . lying and scldandering our old Assemblies and Covenant in his wicked Book: it was undertaken to prove before a Committee, . . . his adultrie, incest, sacrilege, and frequent simonie." The Bishop of Galloway, "besides common faults," "was proven to have preached Arminianism, to have had in his chamber a crucifix, and spoken for the comfortable use he found into it, . . . embraced excommunicate Papists, and professed more love to them than Puritans, . . . to have profaned the Sabbath day by buying horse. . . ." The Bishop of Brechin was "proven guiltie of sundrie acts of most vile drunkenness; also a woman and child brought before us, that made his adultrie very probable; also his using of massie crucifixes in his chamber, . . ." and finally he "was repute to be universallie infamous for many crymes." The Bishop of Edinburgh was "proven to have been a presser of all the late novations, a urger of the Liturgie, a bower to the altar, a wearer of the rochet, a consecrator of churches . . . a countenancer of corrupt doctrine preached in Edinburgh, an elevator of the elements at consecration, a defender of ubiquitie in his book, . . . the man was conceaved to be very worldlie of late . . . and made no bones of swearing and cursing. . . ." The Bishop of Aberdeen "suspended ministers for fast-

ing on Sundays; . . . consecrat the chapell of ane infamous woman. . . .” Of the Bishop of Ross “it was proven that two years ago he was a public reader in his house of the English Liturgie; that he was a bower at the altar, a wearer of the cope and rochet, a deposer of godly ministers, ane admitter of fornicators, a companier with Papists, ane usual carder on Sunday: yea, instead of going to thanksgiving on a communion day, that he called for cards to play at The Beast; had often given absolution, consecrat deacons, robbed his vassals, . . . keepit fasts ilk Friday, journeyed usuallie on Sunday, . . .” in short, “a prime instrument of all troubles both of Church and State.” The Bishop of Orkney was “a curler on the ice on the Sabbath-day, . . . he oversaw adulterie, slighted charming, neglected preaching. . . .” The Bishop of Moray had all “the ordinar faults of a bishop, beside his boldness to be the first who put on his sleeves in Edinburgh, . . . and he had then professed that for to please the King, he would become yet more vyle. . . .” The Bishop of Glasgow, besides “common faults” and “inacting . . . the Book of Canons,” was “a grievous oppressor of his vassals. . . .” The Bishop of Argyll was “ane obtruder of the Liturgie, . . . an oppressor of his vassals, a preacher of Arminianism, a profaner of the Sabbath, and beginner to do all that Canterburie could have wished.” The Bishop of Dunblane was “a special penner, . . . a man set in the chappell to be a hand to Canterburie. . . .” Against the Bishop of the Isles “nothing was libelled but the breach of the caveats. . . .”¹ The confused mass

¹ *Baillie*, vol. i. pp. 153, 154.

of horrible sins and minor failings alleged against the bishops were all on hearsay. None of the accused appeared: we are told they "durst not compeer for feir of their lives."¹ "Not so much as one witness was examined, nor offered to be produced against them for one of these fearful crimes." It has been truly said that "There can be no doubt that the great sin of the Bishops was simply that they were bishops."² They were all deprived, and eight suffered the cruel sentence of excommunication, which practically meant ruin. The Bishops of Orkney, Dunkeld, and Argyll submitted to the Covenanters, "to their everlasting disgrace," says a partisan, though, as most probably these men in tendering their submission sacrificed no vital principle, and were, even from their own point of view, deprived of no spiritual blessing, the judgment is a harsh one. The excommunication of the bishops was very exciting, if not exhilarating, to the Assembly. Many rejoiced to participate in "the most glorious solemnity that ever they had seen." By eight o'clock in the feeble dawn of the winter morning of December 13th the great cathedral was crowded for the dismal ceremonial. At the very commencement the Assembly was affronted, when, opening the Bible, the reader began: "These things have I spoken unto you, that ye should not be offended. They shall put you out of the Synagogue, yea, the time cometh that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service." He was promptly silenced, and though grumbling, had to

¹ *Spalding*, vol. i. p. 121.

² *The Church History of Scotland*, by the Rev. John Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 104.

change the chapter, but soon avenged himself by giving out the 51st Psalm, while the pitiless multitude sang with one voice, "O, Lord, consider my distress, and now with speede some pitie tacks." Then the Moderator stood up and after "conceived prayer," and "confessing sin," referred to "these wretches," the bishops, and "shewed what the miserable unhappiness was of impenitent sinners," and prayed that this censure might be for "the weal of their souls, as it was a punishment to their bodies . . ." and exhorted "all to pray with him that that which he did bind on earth might be bound in heaven." At last was thundered out, "in a very dreadful and grave manner," "the sentence of delivering six of the bishops into the hands of the devil," and a psalm was sung.¹

Certain other ministers suffered besides the bishops. The accusations found against a minister at Melrose described as "of all our monstrous fellows," may suffice to exemplify the guilt of brother offenders. He "made his altar and rails himself, stood within, and reached the elements to those who kneeled without; he avowed Christ's presence there, but whether sacramentallie, or by way of consubstantiation or transubstantiation, he wist not, . . . he maintained Christ's universall redemption, and all that was in our Service Book was good: yet he used to sit at preaching and prayer, baptize in his own house, made a way through the church itself for his kine and sheep, made a waggon of the old communion table to

¹ See Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*; *Baillie*; *Balfour*; Gordon's *Scots Affairs*.

lead his peats in, . . . affirmed our reformed to have brought more damage to the Church in one age than the Pope and his faction had done in a thousand years. . . . This monster was justly deposed."

The Assembly rose, and thus was completed what an historian rapturously describes as "our second and glorious Reformation in 1638, when this Church was again settled upon her own base, and the rights she claimed from the time of the Reformation were restored, so that she became 'fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.'"

Henderson thanked the city of Glasgow for its hospitality, and prayed that "the name of this city may from henceforth be Jehovah-Shammah"—the Lord is there—and as he left the Moderator's chair, exclaimed: "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Niel the Bethelite," and singing—

"How happy a thing it is, and joyful to see,
Brethren together fast to hold the band of amitie,
It calls to mynde that swete perfume and that costlie
oyntment
Which on the sacrificer's head by God's precept was spent."

the Assembly of 1638 separated.

CHAPTER IV.

WAR.

"Now is the autumn of the tree of life.

But I will out amid the sleet, and view
Each shrivelling stalk and silent falling leaf.
Truth after truth, of choicest scent and hue,
Fades, and in falling stirs the angels' grief,
Unanswer'd here; for she, once pattern chief
Of faith, my country, now gross-hearted grown,
Waits but to burn the stem before her idol's throne."

—NEWMAN.

THE Glasgow Assembly brought matters to a climax, and that climax was war. So early as February 1638 the prudent Covenanters had been "preaching, praying, drilling," and collecting subscriptions, or rather levying a tax over all Scotland, for military contingencies. Early, too, had the Marquis of Hamilton advised his Majesty "to send in all haste expresses to his agents in Holland, Hamburgh, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, to stop any arms might be bought up by Scottish men."¹ The King's train of artillery, and his ships were now in preparation, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was calcu-

¹ *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 53.

lating the expenses of the expedition. During the thirty years' war, Scotland had contributed numbers of her sons to assist Continental Protestantism under Gustavus Adolphus. These warriors, trained to systematic strife, were now returning home, and among them appeared General Alexander Leslie, whose military services were obtained by the Covenanters, and who, without loss of time, set about casting cannon in Edinburgh. Great was the enthusiasm. The citizens of Edinburgh gave liberally for the inevitable war. Many of the nobles sent their plate to be coined at the mint, and a present was received in name of the French monarch from Cardinal Richelieu. From motives both personal and political Richelieu assisted the Covenanted chiefs, but these sagacious magnates were careful to conceal his generosity, as they had refused aid from the Lutheran Princes of Germany and the Catholic Kings of France and Spain, because "the Lutherans were heretics, the Catholics idolaters."

The Covenanters dealt first with their obstinate enemy Aberdeen, and flaunting the ensign, "For Religion, the Covenant and the Country," the Earl of Montrose rode at the head of his troops through the grey streets of Bon Accord. In the remote village of Turriff, the Royalists and the Covenanters unsheathed their swords on May 14th, 1639. The former were dispersed, and the first blood spilt in the Great Rebellion was in this small conflict known as "the Trot of Turriff." Soon after this Huntly was captured, and warded in Edinburgh Castle. His position was one of extreme peril. "I am in your power," he said to his enemies, "but am resolved

not to leave that foul title of traitor as an inheritance to my posterity; you may take my head from my shoulders, but not my heart from my sovereign."

Meanwhile the King, urged on by Archbishop Laud, had nearly completed his warlike preparations. On the 1st of May 1639, Hamilton, with a fleet of nineteen vessels and a large army, entered the Forth, and anchored between Inchkeith and Inchcolm. No one was busier in preventing him from landing than his own mother, "who came riding towards Leith, upon the head of some armed troops, with two case pistols at her saddle, protesting (as it is affirmed) that she would kill her son with her own hands, if he should offer to come a-land in ane hostile way; and some affirm that she had a ball of gold, instead of lead, to kill him withal."¹

The month was nearly ended, when the King with 21,000 men was advancing on Berwick, and General Leslie was proceeding at the head of about 20,000 Covenanters from the North. Montrose was in Aberdeen, Argyll was posted near Stirling. Never before had such battalions been marshalled as those of the Covenant, presided over by the "old, little, crooked soldier," Leslie. Most of the colonels were nobles, including Rothes, Cassillis, Eglinton, Dalhousie, Lindsay, Loudon, and Balcarras, or honoured lairds. The common soldiers were many of them rugged shepherds and stalwart ploughmen, in varied habiliments and marvellous accoutrements, while each regiment was spiritually provided for with a minister, who, besides a sword and a pair of Dutch

¹ See Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 30.

pistols, came armed with the weapon of deprecatory, extempore prayer. One minister would call on every true Scotchman in the name of God and the country either to seek a reasonable peace with the King, or to unite in battle against their common enemies the Prelatists and Papists of England; another would denounce the curse of Meraz against those who came not to the help of the Lord; another would summon the loiterers to attend the burial of the saints abandoned by them to the swords of the idolaters. Before the tent doors brave new banners, with "For Christ's Crown and Covenant," in golden letters, floated on the breeze, and drums instead of bells called the soldiers to sermons and prayers "under the roof of heaven." Within the tents many were singing psalms, some praying, and some reading Scriptures; "though," admits Baillie, the honest narrator, "true there was swearing and cursing, and brawling in some quarters, whereat we were grieved."¹ "I was," continues the minister, "as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without return. I found the favour of God shining upon me, and a sweet, meek, humble, yet strong and vehement spirit leading me all along. . . ."²

The royal army encamped near Berwick, the Covenanters on the hill of Dunse Law. Despite the vigorous preparations on both sides, when the final moment for civil war arrived, both armies exhibited an extreme reluctance to fight; and on the 18th of June a mutual Treaty of Peace was agreed to, on the basis of a free

¹ *Baillie*, vol. i. p. 214.² *Ibid.*

Assembly at Edinburgh, and a Parliament to follow. On the very day that the Pacification of Berwick was signed, Montrose was successfully fighting the Battle of the Bridge of Dee, and Aberdeen was falling before him. On the morning of the 20th a pinnace reached Aberdeen, "with letters both from the King and the chiefe of the Covenanters, ordering all acts of hostilitie to cease upon both sydes, . . . and every man who had fled began to come back to Aberdeen to their houses."

On the 12th of August, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh, with David Dickson as Moderator and the Earl of Traquhair Commissioner. In terms of the Peace of Berwick, the authority of the Assembly of 1638 was annulled, but the sweeping Acts then passed were renewed, now stamped by the royal authority. The King was to abolish Episcopacy in Scotland, "not because it was a point of Popery, or contrary to God's law or the Protestant religion, but because it was contrary to the Constitution of the Church of Scotland." The recent publication of a book called the *Large Declaration* sorely exercised the Assembly. It was in defence of the Royal cause, and appeared in the King's name, but was believed to be the work of Walter Balcanquhal, Dean of Durham, and was denounced as "dishonourable to God, to the Kirk, to the Kingdom, and as stuffed with a huge multitude of lies." "It is so full of gross absurdities," said the minister, Andrew Cant, "that I think hanging of the author should prevent all other censures." "That punishment," observed the Moderator, "is not in the hands of kirkmen." However, the Assembly prepared a petition to the King to have Balcanquhal and others

suspected of having a hand in the book brought to Scotland for trial.

The triumphant Covenanters renewed the Covenant, and their fierce intolerance being on the increase, it was made henceforth binding on all, and was to be specially ministered to Papists. "Thus," says a Presbyterian historian, "the Covenant was no longer a bond of brotherhood, but an instrument of oppression," and was now "to do violence to the faith of the downtrodden Papists and Prelatists." The Covenanters had gained their utmost desires, and the rejoicings of the members of the Assembly knew no bounds. "I bless, I glorifie, I magnifie the God of heaven and earth, that has pitied this poor Church," burst forth one. "My voice nor tongue cannot express the joy of my heart to see this torn-down kirk restored to her beautie. The Lord make us thankful!" cried another.¹ As for the minister, John Wemyss, he "could scarce get a word spoken for tears trickling down along his grey hairs, like drops of rain or dew upon the tops of the tender grass, and yet withal, singing for joy, he said, 'I do remember when the Kirk of Scotland had a beautiful face . . . this my eyes did see,—a fearful defection . . . and no more did I wish before my eyes were closed, but to have seen such a beautiful day. . . . Blessed for evermore be our Lord King Jesus, and the blessing of God be upon his Majestie, and the Lord make us thankful!'"² Yes, Episcopacy was abolished "to the unspeakable joy of all them that

¹ *Cunningham*, vol. ii. p. 115.

² *Peterkin's Records*, pp. 251, 252.

fear the Lord, and wait for His Salvation"; and so exulting, and praying, and singing—

“ The Lord is only my supporte,
And He that doth me feed,
How can I then lack anything
Of which I stand in need ? ”

the ministers, very well pleased with themselves and their work, separated on the 30th of August.

About this time considerable uneasiness was caused by the discovery that the Covenanters had been quietly obtaining aid from France, and the Earl of Dunfermline and Lord Loudon were sent to the Tower on suspicion of treachery.

The Scottish Parliament met on the dissolution of the Assembly, and although it was prorogued by the king to the 2nd of June 1640, it did some business. On the appointed day it reassembled. Again it was prorogued by Charles, but it continued its session. It was enacted that henceforth the Three Estates should be represented by nobles, barons, and burgesses only, ecclesiastics being entirely excluded. Triennial Parliaments were to be held. The Acts of the last Assembly were ratified; the Christmas vacation in the Justiciary Courts was abolished; the Large Declaration was condemned, and the Covenant was to be universally subscribed.

On the 28th of July the Assembly met in Grey Friar's Kirk, Aberdeen. The chief work of the ministers was the deposition of the doctors of Aberdeen. One of these respectable old men was “in many points of doctrine verie corrupt, another was not verie corrupt, yet perverse in the Covenant and Service Book,” and was guilty of

preaching long on one text. As to Dr John Forbes, though accused of reading the works of Dr William Forbes, of reviling the Covenant and other transgressions, the Assembly was so anxious to retain this good and learned man that the deposition which befell the other doctors was for the present suspended. The doctors of Aberdeen are attractive by their earnestness and their learning. The far-away shadow of monastic devotion may be detected in Dr Lesley's "retired monastick way of living, being naturally melancholian, and a man of great reading, a painful student, who delighted in nothing else but to sit in his study and spend days and nights at his book,"—"which kind of life," continues his biographer, "is opposite to a practical way of living."¹ As to the doctors' perceptions of Catholic truth in the bleak and desolate system to which they belonged, there is no evidence that they had any, notwithstanding the delusion which in the face of facts some have adhered to. In 1642, Dr Scroggie made a formal recantation before the Aberdeen Presbytery. In it he declared that the "Humanitie of Christ" is "not to be printed for religious uses," or "placed in places of worship." He held that the "Kirk of Rome is ane hereticall, apostatical, and idolatrous kirk." He denounced altars and vestments, the Service Book and Canons, and denied the Sacrifice in the Eucharist. He rejected the "absolute necessitie of private baptism, and denied that the Lord's Supper should be given to dying persons, as a viaticon, and averred that the giving or taking thereof was supersti-

¹ *Gordon*, vol. iii. p. 231.

tious.”¹ The Kirk was satisfied when it beheld “these earnest divines of Aberdeen either dead, deposed, or banished, in whom fell more learning than was left behind in all Scotland . . . nor has that city nor any city in Scotland ever since seen so many learned divines and scholars at one time together. . . . From this time forward learning began to be discountenanced, and such as were knowing in antiquitie, and in the writings of the Fathers, were had in suspicion as men who smelled of Popery, and he was esteemed of who affected Novellism and singularities most, and the very form of preaching as well as the materials was changed ;—for the most part learning was nicknamed human learning, and some ministers so far cried it down in their pulpits as they were heard to say, ‘Down doctrine and up Christ.’”²

Besides annihilating the doctors, the Assembly entered largely on the “Novellism” and “singularities” which prevailed among the supporters of the unauthorised Western meetings. The ministers of this new party denounced all set forms of prayer, and in his blasphemy one of their adherents called the Lord’s Prayer “*a thread-bare prayer*,” and said, “It is not lawful to say that prayer, especially after supper.”³ The Assembly did not “disallow” the “reading or using of set prayer,” and ordained that none “but ministers and expectants . . . expound scripture” . . . *i.e.*, interpret the Scripture in families. Amongst the many acts of this busy Assembly were certain against witches and charmers, and one “anent the

¹ *Spalding*, vol. ii. p. 217.

² *Gordon*, vol. iii. p. 242-244, 247.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 248-250.

abolishing of idolatrous monuments." In prompt obedience to this Act a pitiful destruction ensued, for in all parts of the country there were willing hands ready with axes and hammers to carry out the Assembly's fell decree, and beginning on the spot "to purge both cities of Aberdeen from such trashe," "knocking down old weather-beaten stones when monuments were not to be found." Dignitaries presided over the demolition, which was no longer left to the "rascal multitude." The Earl of Seaforth, the Master of Forbes, the Principal of the College of Edinburgh, the Rector of King's College, Aberdeen, "with some other barons and gentlemen," rode forth to the Cathedral of St Machar's, where they "ordained our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, His Arms to be hewn out of the forefront of the pulpit, and to take down the portrait of our blessed Virgin Mary, and her dear Son babie Jesus in her armes, that had stood since the up-putting thereof, in curious work. . . ." ¹ In December, the fair Cathedral of Elgin, the glory of the land, the Lantern of the North, was dealt with. The timber screen which had outlived the hurricane of the Reformation was cast down. It was "painted in excellent colours, illuminate with stars of bright gold," and represented the Crucifixion. "This piece was so excellently done that the colours nor stars never faded nor evanished, but keepit hale and sound, as they were at the beginning, notwithstanding this . . . kirk wanted the roof since the Reformation, and no hale window therein, to save the same from storm, snow, sleet, nor

¹ *Spalding*, vol. i. p. 313.

weet ; . . . On the other side of this wall, towards the east, was drawn the Day of Judgment. . . .” It was said that the minister “caused bring home to his house the timber thereof, and burn the same for serving his kitchen . . . but ilk night the fire went out . . . and thereafter the minister left off any further to bring in or burn any more of that timber.” . . . Another minister, having erected a loft in his church, “for ease of the people at sermon,” laid hands on the “glorious timber work” behind the High Altar in Bishop Gavin Dunbar’s aisle, and with this, says the exasperated historian, he “decorated this beistlie loft.”¹

Every crucifix that could be found was caused “pull out in honest men’s houses,” and the very name of Jesus was chiselled out of the walls by the furious iconoclasts. “There is soon,” writes a missionary, “to be a general search through the kingdom for church furniture and rosaries and Catholic books, etc.; and they are determined, as they say, to make their last effort not to leave a Catholic in this kingdom.”²

Rapidly throughout the length and breadth of the land the “sons of havoc” arose to complete the sacrilege which Knox had begun. “Then it was that the niches of Melrose were emptied of their statues of prince and prelate; that the sculptured pillar at Ruthwell was broken in three; that the Synod of Argyll was let loose upon Iona to cast its monuments into the sea, and its

¹ *Spalding*, vol. ii. p. 216.

² *Collections towards the Biography of Members of the Society of Jesus*, by the Rev. Dr Oliver, p. 30.

manuscripts into the flames";¹ and then, not even the veneration due to extreme old age, not the halo encompassing dim antiquity, spared the sculptured stones of Scotland, the handiwork of the Christian Celt in the centuries when "faith was fresh of hue," from desecration and mutilation. For well-nigh a hundred years the Cross of Christ had been dishonoured, the memory of His Passion had been obscured, the names of His blessed Mother and of His Saints had been reviled. The Incarnation had practically ceased to influence men's lives. Where there was no Christmas Day there was no Easter Day, no Ascension Day, no Pentecost. Now also the scanty material memorials still left in the land of the Divine Humanity, and of the denizens of an unseen world,—the Crucifix, the Virgin Mother with her Son and Saviour, the saints in their beatitude, the Angels in their adoration,—were doomed to perish. We may bewail the material wreck, but far more would we grieve over the mutilation of the lineaments of the Son of God amongst those who were baptised in His name. These lineaments were becoming dim, if not obliterated, in the national character before the seventeenth century's final destruction of His representations in wood and stone. Men were realising, with ever-lessening vividness, that sixteen hundred years ago the God-man had died for them on the Cross of Calvary before they cast the Holy Rood of Ruthwell to be trodden under foot on the turf of Dumfries, and they had absolutely renounced belief in His living sacramental presence on His Altar, when, in imi-

¹ Robertson's *Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals*.

tation of Cranmer and Ridley, they turned His Altar stones into pavements, and His fonts into troughs.

Darkness and gloom now reigned supreme, and no wonder, for Christians were rejecting the Light of Light. The presence of the Guest human and divine which, at the wedding feast of Cana of Galilee, had forever sanctified the innocent mirth of His children, was unsought, the Benediction which had been granted, the woman who poured ointment from her alabaster box upon His sacred head was forgotten. The records of the historian speak for themselves. "No Memorie of Yule Daye" in 1640. In 1641, work was enforced on Yule Day, and the unfortunate scholars had to stay at school; and on the same festival in 1642, which fell on a Sunday, the ministers preached "against all mirriness, play and pastime." As there was no Gloria in Excelsis Deo for the Babe of Bethlehem, so there were no Alleluias for the Resurrection Morning. On the 6th of April 1642, "drums went through the town" forbidding anyone to bring in meat to market till Saturday last of April, "under pain of confiscation of the flesh." "This done to take away the memorie of Pasch Day," which fell on the 10th of April. On that day, "no flesh durst be sold in Aberdeen for making good cheir as was wont to be . . . a matter never before heard of in this land that Pasche Day should be included within Lentrion time."¹ At Easter, 1645, we read, "Pasche Day . . . quhilk was keepit before, praising God with mirth and mirriness for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, and was turnit

¹ *Spalding*, vol. ii. pp. 89-464.

over in fasting by our kirk. . . . No meat durst be made ready, searchers sought the town's houses and kitchens for the same. Thus is the people vext with these extraordinary fasts and thanksgivings upon the Sabbath Day, appointed by God for a day of rest, more than their bodies are vext with labour on the work day, through the preposterous zeal of our ministers." At the Fast of February, 1643, there was "thundering daily out of pulpits against papists," and in 1644 a great fast was held, apparently not without reason, because "the whole land is overflowed with ane speat of formalitie and profanitie, as appeareth by our gross unbelief, manifold oaths, Sabbath breakings, oppressions, uncleanness, drunkenness and other sins of all sorts."¹ . . . One of these rigorous fasts is thus described by an unwilling participator therein:—"In Old Aberdeen . . . we had ane fast, entering the church at nine hours, and continued praying and preaching till twa hours. After sermon the people sat still hearing and reading till afternoon's sermon began and ended, which continued till half hour to six. Then the prayer-bell rang to the evening prayers, and continued till seven. Thus were the people wearied with fasting and praying, under colour of zeal, which rather appeared ane plain mockery of God."² . . . And year by year the dreariness increased. Once we are told a cheering fact, that "the bairns of the Old Town of Aberdeen Grammar School" on Candlemas Day, 1643, defied the ministers, and with candles lit in their hands, "blithe enough and rejoicing" went round and round the Cross at six in the

¹ *Spalding*, vol. ii. p. 382.

² *Ibid.*, p. 383.

evening.”¹ Andrew Cant, now minister of St Nicholas, Aberdeen, was the embodiment of the most repulsive form of Calvinism, and must have proved a sore trial to the northern city. The magistrates seem to have succumbed before him, and under his influence the terrors of the Sabbath were intensified. “None on the Sabbath Day durst come out of the New Town to the Old Town, especiallie in time of sermon. And to that effect the High Ways watchit on ilk Sunday, and who was found was convenit before their sessions, and severely punished with shame and derision; . . . all singing or ringing bells at funerals forbidden. All brought in by this Cant, and followed by the Magistrates of Aberdeen as he commanded, or as he daily devysit to the grievous burden of the people.” . . . For a year Cant gave no Communion in Aberdeen, because he alleged the people were ignorant. Though a babe was at the point of death, this intolerable minister refused to baptize it “without after preaching on Sunday or other preaching day.” It is pathetic to read of a father bringing his dying babe for baptism, “but no minister would stir to baptize it till after sermon,” and meanwhile the babe died at the foot of the pulpit. And of another, whom Cant refused to baptize until it had been taken from its father’s arms, because he said the father was a Papist; and of yet another babe the minister would not baptize because he was not “baptizing other bairns,” and when the father carried it home, the mother lying in bed turned her face to the wall, and died of grief,

¹ *Spalding*, vol. ii. p. 229.

the babe soon following, and being laid in the coffin in its mother's arms.¹

The records of the sufferings of Catholics during these dreary years are few. Now and then history has given in outline sufficient to bring up before us one sad picture which was but a type of many; dark indeed, as far as this world is concerned, but bright with the sunshine of a faith which had never penetrated into the home of the Covenanter. A priest writes in 1640: "Within the last ten days orders have been published throughout Scotland not to sell anything to Catholics, or buy anything of them. Many are already deprived of their rents and income. Several Catholics have offered three-fourths of their property provided they may keep the remaining fourth for the maintenance of themselves and their families, and even this is refused. Nay, our adversaries impiously swear that not a single Catholic shall live or remain in Scotland by the end of the year."² Who can read without pity and indignation of the Dowager Marchioness of Huntly, the high-born daughter of Esmè, Duke of Lennox, being forced, because of her religion, though nearly seventy years of age, to leave her home? On a day in June 1641, "she locks the doors and closes the windows of her beautiful home, and leaves with woeful heart her stately building of the Bog, . . . and takes journey with about sixteen horse," lodging first at Aberdeen, and then again setting forth on the wearisome ride to Edinburgh. She was left "helpless and comfort-

¹ *Spalding*, vol. ii. pp. 227, 228, 297.

² *Oliver's Collections*, p. 29.

less, and so put at by the Kirk, that she beloved to go, or else to bide excommunication, and thereby lose her estate and living, which she was loathe to do. . . .”¹ King Charles was in Edinburgh when she sojourned there, before proceeding to Berwick, and surprise has been expressed that from him she found no redress. But the noble lady’s religion was as great an offence in the eyes of the Anglican King as in those of the most bigoted Covenanter. The adventures of Father Gilbert Blakhal, written by himself, give a graphic description of a Scottish priest’s life about this period. Whilst he was proceeding to the Castle of the Lady Aboyne in Aberdeenshire, he and his horse fell into a stream, and with great difficulty, holding on to his horse’s tail, he and the steed got to land. He was hardly on the bank when he saw his saddle and portmanteau rapidly floating down the river. In he plunged and rescued them, but only to “see my hat and a little valise of real Spanish leather wherein was my Mass vestments swimming” away. Again he was in the water, up to the neck, and having caught these also, reflected over what the rejoicings of the ministers would have been, had they found his little valise, as they would have concluded that a “mass priest” had been drowned. Soaking and shivering, he and his horse at last arrived at the house of a friendly man who gave him “dry clothes and a good fire,” and kept him for two days till his effects were repaired. An adventure like this was probably common enough. On another occasion he ingeniously escaped the people of

¹ *Spalding*, vol. ii. p. 53.

Falkirk on their way to kirk by saying he was hurrying on to settle a lawsuit in favour of his wife and children. When, on his way from Edinburgh to Aberdeen on a Sunday night, he found it impossible to cross the Forth from Leith, because the Presbyterians were "more as half Jews ; for they had forbidden all servile work to be done from Saturday at noon until the next Monday, under great penalties ; so that a boat durst not go upon ferries to pass any man over, what pressant affair soever he could have, and therefore I could not pass at Leith or return again to Edinburgh, specially upon their day of general communion, because these days they send searchers to all the inns to see who are those absent from their churches ; and if they be found the hosts are fined for lodging them, or suffering them to be absent. . . ." Thus situated, he rode on wearily for many a mile, and resting for a few hours in an inn, paid his landlord over night, and set off by break of day to avoid detection by the ministers.

Father Blakhal became chaplain to the Lady Aboyne, and in her old Aberdeenshire Castle he spent several happy years from 1638 to 1642, when the lady died. He thus describes his life there : ". . . I failed very seldom to say mass to her and for her, every day, and preached to her and her household and neighbours and servants who were Catholics, every Sunday and holiday and once every month she did confess, and received forby all the great feasts of the year . . . my course was not very great, but only from her house of Aboyne to Aberdeen, two and twenty miles, where I did confess and communicat all the Catholics that were there ; and

from Aberdeen to Buchan, a matter of nineteen or twenty miles, where I had but five Catholic houses to go to; Blaire, ten miles from Aberdeen; and Shives, five or six miles from Blaire, and Gicht, as far from Shives, and Artrachy, nine or ten miles from Gicht, and Cruden, six miles from Artrachy, and the distances betwixt these houses obliged me to stay a night in each of them to say masse, confesse, communicat, and exhort the Catholics by way of a short preaching; and from Buchan to Strathbogie, where I used to stay but three or four nights. . . .” After visiting these places, he set off “to Aboyne back again, thro’ the Cuishney hills, as wild a part as is in all Scotland, which I have crossed many times at midnight all alone, when I could not see whether I was in the way or out of it, but trusted my horse, who never failed nor fainted in the way.” At Aboyne rest and comfort awaited him, and he was called by the gentle mistress of the stately establishment, “my priest, my chamerlane, and the Captain of my Castle.” In the second-named capacity he proved himself a practical man, and succeeded in diminishing the reckless waste of the servants, who robbed their lady ruthlessly. When he first came, he says, “I did eat in my chamber . . . four dishes of meat was the least that was sent to me at any meal, with ale and wine conforme, which I thought superfluous, but knowing the noble disposition of the lady, who gave the order herself for all the tables, as well of her servants as her own, I would not so soon utter my mind, until I should know better how my admonition would be received.” Ere long he thus addressed the Lady Aboyne: “Madam, I think you keep

one table more than you need, for I had rather eat at the table with your servants than suffer you to be at so much unneccessare expenses as I see you are at for me." "You shall be very welcome," answered she, "not indeed to eat with my servants, but with myself and my child. I did mak this offer to others here before you, but they would not accept of it. So from thenceforth I did go publickly to the table and walked abroad publickly, and the people were no more curious to see the priest, as they used to be when he keepit himself closed up in his chamber, which I could not endure, and if he opened but his window, they did run to get a sight of him, as of a monstrous thing. . . ."

As Captain of the Castle, Father Blakhal, observing that only two pistols formed its weapons of defence, laid in a supply of firearms—a wise precaution in that lonely home.

In September 1641, the Lady Aboyne fell ill, and before Christmas was in a "languishing fever," which "daily waxed stronger and she weaker, until it did take her away, to my great regret, and the loss of all the Catholics, both poor and rich. . . ." Her broken-hearted chaplain watched every night by her bed "until two hours after midnight, and when she slept, I retired to my chamber, where I wept longer time than I slept, and how soon I awaked, returned again to her to comfort her, altho' mine own heart was very comfortless. . . . She confessed, and received the Blessed Sacrament every week in her sickness, preparing herself for an happy end; and at the end of every confession, before she would rise from her weak knees, she said, her hands

joined—"Now, Father, I recommend to you my fatherless child, going now to be Motherless. I pray you to continue towards her the charitie you have practised upon me ever since I was so happy to know you. I know she will be put to hereticks to pervert her, and therefore do not abandon her among their hands, but visit her and comfort her, and keep her in the Catholic religion, and save her soul for God's sake if you can.' . . . I had my hand upon her head, and gave her the last absolution, immediately before her last breath did go out, and the next day blessed earth, and did lay of it under her, and above and at every side of her in her chest and . . . did bury her privately . . . with Catholic ceremonies, and so did finish the services that I was able to do her in the quality of a priest."¹

When a priest was caught, his probable destiny was exile, or the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. What histories of heroic confessorship the dreary walls of that filthy prison could tell! The Marchioness of Abercorn, a zealous Catholic, after long imprisonment there, fell into "many heavy diseases," and finding a "daily decay and weakness in her person," she received a special royal licence to go to the Baths at Bristol, but not availing herself of this, she was at length allowed to live in her own house at Paisley, on rigorous conditions that she receive "no Jesuits or Mass Priests."

Father John Mambrecht, a Jesuit, was condemned to be hanged, but instead was imprisoned in the Tolbooth.

¹ *A Brieffe narration of the services done to three noble Ladies,* by Gilbert Blakhal. Spalding Club edit.

Whilst there no friend was allowed to visit him, he was interdicted the use of pen and ink, his only comfort was the Cross that hung around his neck, and his breviary, when the light in the gloomy cell would permit him to use it. Twice during the day a turnkey brought him barely sufficient food to keep him alive. When he was released it was many months before he could walk out, owing to serious illness, but at last he retired to Poland, and there we are told "he was wholly engaged in hearing the confessions of various nations—Italians, the inhabitants of Great Britain, Germans, French, Spaniards, and Hollanders, of whose languages he was a perfect master—that he was eminent for his devotion to the Passion of Jesus Christ, and that he perpetually regretted his having been disappointed of suffering martyrdom for his crucified Lord."¹

Another Jesuit, Father James Mambrecht, was about this period sent to the Tolbooth. In 1653 he was visited by Father Robert Gall, who found him spitting blood after ten months' imprisonment in the squalid den. To the poor sufferer Father Gall brought the Lord of Life Himself in the Holy Sacrament, to his unspeakable happiness, and ere long, by great efforts, he procured his friend's release. Father James Mambrecht, in 1641, says : "Against those who decline to take the Covenant, the proceedings are carried on with the extremity of rigour. Such and so general a persecution I have never yet seen, nor has any Catholic, since the true Faith was first banished from this kingdom. I am the only one left in

¹ Oliver's *Collections*, p. 29.

this south part of Scotland ; but as long as I am able to stay, I have decided, with the help of God, to remain, whilst I have a place where to lay my head, though my lot must be extreme misery and perpetual fear and danger. God grant that I may save *even one soul* from shipwreck ; and may good Jesus show me what things I may suffer for His Name. Oh ! how I wish I could die for Him !” Father Mambrecht was banished, and escaped to Douai.¹

¹ Oliver's *Collections*, p. 31.

CHAPTER V.

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, AND THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES.

“ Frae Calvin’s well aye clear they drank,
O, sic a feast !”

—BURNS.

AGAIN the blasts of war were sounded in 1640. The Peace of Berwick was a brief interregnum, and since June warlike preparations had been advancing. Able-bodied men were enlisting in every parish, and ministers were preaching, praying, collecting subscriptions, and, authorised by an Act of Parliament, were sending their church plate to the melting-pot to provide money for the Covenanting army. The country was disturbed and restless, and Argyll was ravishing Athole and the Braes of Angus with fire and sword. In July he savagely attacked and burned the Bonnie House of Airlie. On the 21st of August a large army entered England. It was again led by Leslie ; but Montrose, even though his heart was then passing over to his royal master,¹ was the first to wade waist deep into the strong waters of the frontier river Tweed. Ministers, with their Bibles in

¹ Early in August 1640, Montrose, with other Scottish Royalists, signed the Bond of Cumbernauld, for the defence of the Monarchy.

their hands, formed the vanguard, and united with the soldiers in loudly proclaiming that they marched, not against the people of England, "but against the Canterbury faction of Papists, Atheists, Arminians, and Prelatists," and that they designed the punishment of the troublers of Israel, the firebrands of hell, the Korahs, the Balaams, the Doegs, the Rapshakaths, the Hamans, the Tobiahs, and Sanballats of the times . . ." ¹ At Newburn on the Tyne, on the 28th of August, the Covenanters routed the Royalists, losing themselves but one man, and they then occupied Newcastle and Durham. Pacific negotiations, however, began at Ripon in October. From Ripon the peacemakers removed to London, and the Treaty of Ripon was not signed till the 7th of August 1641.

The Scottish Commissioners for the Treaty, among them the Earls of Rothes and Dunfermline, were in high favour in London, and the representative ministers,—Henderson, Baillie, and Gillespie,—held Presbyterian services, and preached long sermons to crowded audiences in the Church of St Antholin. Indeed, the Scottish Calvinists and the English Puritans found themselves becoming more and more united every day, and the grand project of both,—namely, the extirpation of Episcopacy in England, and the establishment of Presbyterianism in England and Scotland—was now unfolding itself. On the 3rd of November, the Long Parliament, which was to exist for nineteen years, met at Westminster, and sweeping measures began. Wentworth, now Earl of Strafford,

¹ *Rushworth*, ii. 1226.

and Archbishop Laud, were impeached, the Courts of Star Chamber and of High Commission were abolished, and the Root and Branch Petition, so called because its prayer was that the Anglican Hierarchy might be abolished "with all its dependencies, roots, and branches," was introduced by the Commons. On May 12th, 1641, Strafford, whose indictment was "a settled attempt to overthrow the Constitution in England," was beheaded on a Bill of Attainder. The great Royalist statesman met his desertion by the master to whom he had been so faithful and true, with the words—"Put not your trust in princes," and yet he had come to London with that master's guarantee that Parliament should not touch a hair of his head. Truly he had served "a mild and a gracious prince, who knew not how to be or to be made great. . . ." Robert Baillie, to judge from his letters, enjoyed his winter and spring in London. "Huge things," he writes, "are here in working: the mighty hand of God be about this great work! We hope this shall be the joyful harvest of the tears that thir manie years has been sewin in thir kingdoms. All here are wearie of Bishops." . . . "We trust this is the acceptable time when we shall reap the labours of manie saints . . . good hopes to get bishops, ceremonies, and all away. . . ."¹ The minister's exultation increased, and neared a climax on a certain Monday in January 1641. "This Monday is almost a solemn day for private humiliation, over all the citie and this land, for rooting out of Episcopacie. We trust a gracious answer

¹ *Baillie*, vol. i. p. 274.

shall now shortlie come from heaven. It becomes all of you there, who thinks to partake of Sion's joy, to joyne yourselves with her mourning supplicants."¹ He soon after preached to a crowded congregation from the text, "The Lord has done great things for us," and tells us he spent "much of ane hour in ane historick narration, the best I could pen, of all that God had done for us, frae the maids' commotion in the Cathedral of Edinburgh to that present day: manie tears of compassion and joy did fall from the eyes of the English."²

The General Assembly met at St Andrews on the 20th of July 1641, and was soon removed to Edinburgh. A letter arrived to the Assembly from certain ministers in England, full of congratulations on the impending ecclesiastical union of the nations, but making fearful allusion to the presence of certain persons who approved of another form of church government, which was neither Presbyterian nor Episcopal. These were the Independents or Congregationalists, who are described as "some brethren that hold the whole form of church government, and all acts therunto appertaining . . . to be decreed by the most voices in, and of every particular congregation, which (say they) is the utmost bound of a particular church."³ The ministers of the Kirk of Scotland, in their answer to their "Brethren of the Kirk of England," expressed their hope that they would "heartily endeavour that there might be in both kirks one Confession, one Directory for Public Worship, one Catechism,

¹ *Baillie*, vol. i., p. 278.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 295.

³ *Hetherington*, pp. 42, 57. *Peterkin*, p. 295.

and one Forme of Kirk-Government," and their persuasion that their own form of kirk-government "is of God," and the Episcopal "is of man."¹

The Earl of Montrose had now openly severed himself from the Covenanters, and had thrown in his cause with his Sovereign for ever. Henceforth his faithful friend throughout his stormy career was James, Lord Ogilvy, eldest son of the first Earl of Airlie. His deadly foe was Argyll, and his suspicions in regard to the loyalty of the Marquis of Hamilton were strongly avowed. The Covenanters, who deeply resented the loss of Montrose, avenged themselves, for the time at least, by warding him in Edinburgh Castle, on a charge of conspiring against the Covenant, Hamilton, and Argyll. The plot they alleged he had contrived is known in history as "The Incident."

An interesting event had lately taken place in the Royal Family. When Queen Henrietta Maria's mother, Queen Maria dei Medici, visited England in 1637, she passed through Holland. The far-seeing lady had then discussed the propriety of a marriage between William, the only son of Frederick, Prince of Orange, and one of her English granddaughters. The results of these negotiations were that on May 2nd, 1641, Mary, Princess Royal of England, who was then ten years old, was espoused to Prince William, he being one year her senior. The fruit of this "truly Protestant alliance" was William, the future husband of Mary II. of England. Charles I. had for some time been meditating a visit to Scotland

¹ *Peterkin*, p. 296.

for the purpose of "quieting distraction for the people's satisfaction." Leaving the Queen in charge of his youthful family, Charles, Prince of Wales, now eleven years old; Mary, the young bride of Orange; James, Duke of York, between seven and eight; Elizabeth, about six; and the few months old baby Henry, Duke of Gloucester (there was a vacant place in the royal nursery, for the little Princess Anne had died in 1640), the King set off for the North on the 9th of August 1641, and arrived at Holyrood on Saturday the 14th. On the 17th his Majesty proceeded to the stately hall of the new Parliament House, where Parliament was already sitting,—nobles, barons, and burgesses, according to the Scottish custom, under one roof. The Crown was borne by Hamilton, whose fidelity was now under the gravest suspicion, the Sceptre by Argyll, he who was to his enemies the "man of craft, subtilty, and falsehood," to his friends the man who "had piety for a Christian, sense for a counsellor, courage for a martyr, and soul for a king¹." Charles gracefully saluted the Estates of Scotland, among whom he was nominally a sovereign, but was actually utterly powerless, in "a pleasant pithie speiche." None were allowed to sit in the austere assemblage save those who had taken the Covenant, and the enactments proclaimed the triumph of the Covenanters. On the 26th of August, the King personally ratified the Treaty of Ripon, and by this Act he "condemned all his own former proceedings, and approved of the conduct of his opponents; sanctioned all that had been done by the

¹ *Scots Worthies.*

Assemblies at Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen ; and established the Presbyterian form of government and worship." ¹

Absolutely helpless, the poor King now conferred titles and dignities on the men who had wronged him most. He created Argyll, the leader of the Covenanters, a Marquis ; Lords Loudon and Lindsay, Earls ; and General Leslie became Earl of Leven. Argyll received the Bishopric of Lismore and the Isles, and Alexander Henderson the emoluments of the Deanery of the Chapel Royal. The Universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen were pensioned from the former Bishoprics, and the University of Edinburgh from the Bishoprics of Orkney and Edinburgh. The unhappy King had entered, after the sacrifice of his faithful servant Strafford, into the valley of the shadow of death ; his blood lay heavy on his head, and fresh sorrows were thickening round and round. He had indeed written cheerfully to his wife on his arrival at Holyrood, and yet the very day after that arrival he was made to taste the tyranny of the Covenanters. In the forenoon he attended Henderson's sermon in the Abbey Church, but, when resting in the afternoon, fatigued by his journey, he was called to account by the vigilant Henderson, and "promised not to do so again." The same untiring divine, "in the evening before supper, does daily say prayer, read a chapter, sing a psalm, and say prayer again. The king hears all due, and we hear none of his complaints for want of a Liturgie, or any ceremonies." ² This was considered a golden age of

¹ *Battle*, vol. ii. p. 385.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 385.

sermons, and we should indeed vainly endeavour to imagine what it must have been to sit still and hear the "heads and particulars, uses and applications, in which for an hour, and sometimes two or more, many preachers revelled."¹ Verily the King was now drinking a bitter cup. The Episcopacy which he heard daily or hourly reviled was to him as the apple of his eye, and every devotional and intellectual instinct, together with every sentiment of refinement, must have been continually outraged by the addresses to the Almighty known as "Conceived Prayer." We hear that "it would pity any man's heart to see how he looks : For he is never quiet amongst them, and glad he is when he sees any man that he thinks loves him. . . ."² In winning Montrose, who, though now shut up in Edinburgh Castle, was but biding his time, he had however won a true friend, a friend true till death, and beyond the grave. The Earl of Rothes had also been secured, but he died in 1641.

During the King's visit to his "antient and native kingdom," news arrived of the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion under Roger More and Sir Phelim O'Neale, and on the 18th of November Charles left Scotland, never again to return. "He went," says one, surely in bitter sarcasm, "a contented king from a contented country." In England the breach between him and his Parliament was growing wider and wider every day. The two great political parties which, under different names, still divide the nation, the *Cavaliers* or Royalists, and the *Roundheads* or Parlia-

¹ See *Preachers of Scotland*, p. 96 ; *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 50.

² *Napier*, vol. i. p. 355.

mentarians, had appeared. On November 20th, 1641, the first pitched battle between the mighty factions was fought over the Grand Remonstrance. This document contained a summary of all the national grievances under Charles I. Permeated by Puritanism, and full of vehement accusations against Episcopacy, it was carried after a long and stormy debate by a small majority. The vote on the Grand Remonstrance has been truly called a vote of want of confidence in the King. So little, nevertheless, did Charles understand the temper of the nation, so deaf was he to the rumblings of the terrible storm which was about to burst upon the throne, that, having failed to procure a charge of treason against five members in the House of Commons, he committed the mad act of going down to the House with the intention of arresting them in person.

Renewed war between the King and the nation was imminent. Early in the year it was arranged that the Queen should proceed to Holland to raise supplies for his campaign, and to escort the Princess Royal to her future home. On February 23rd, with foreboding heart and weeping eyes, he saw his beloved wife and daughter depart at Dover, and soon after he removed his Court to York. Late in the evening of the 25th of August 1642, the Royal Standard was unfurled on the Castle Hill at Nottingham. The night was stormy, the banner of the kings of England shook and swayed on the blast, and finally, dire omen, it was blown down.

The Queen had taken the Crown Jewels with her to Holland, and having raised money on them, she obtained arms, which were at once despatched to England in a

small vessel. The King received them at York, and he immediately mustered his forces. Lord Lindsay was appointed General-in-Chief, and Prince Rupert, nephew of Charles I.,¹ General of the Horse. The Parliamentary armies were commanded by Lord Essex in the south, and by Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas in the north. On the 23rd of October, an indecisive battle was fought at Edgehill in Warwickshire, and during the winter of 1643 Charles took Bristol. However, on the 20th September of this year, his enemies were partly successful² at the first Battle of Newbury. At Edgehill there appeared in the Parliamentary army as Captain of the Horse a man rugged in mien, and slovenly in apparel, but who possessed military genius which was destined ere long to turn temporarily into a strange new channel the stream of English history. This was Oliver Cromwell, and already his rigorously disciplined regiment was developing those characteristics which were to gain for the future soldiers of the Commonwealth the name of the Ironsides.

Meanwhile the early yearnings after unity amongst Protestants,—yearnings which the centuries were to intensify, but which no agency without the Fold had power to satisfy,—were manifesting themselves. After more than a hundred years of existence, British Protestantism, whether it existed as Episcopalian or Presby-

¹ The third son of the Elector Palatine Frederick V. and Elizabeth, daughter of James VI.

² At the second Battle of Newbury, on October 27th, 1644, the King was defeated.

terian was rent asunder, and recently the energies of several of the denominations had been directed towards the desirability of devising a common basis of church government, and common formularies of doctrine—in short, those who were severed from unity were beginning to realise their misery, and were sighing in vain without for that unity and brotherhood which was nowhere attainable save within the City of God. Accordingly it was determined to gather together a vast Assembly, an Assembly which was to stand “first among Protestant Councils,” and was to be more interesting to Protestants than the history of the Councils of Constance, Basle, Trent, or any other of the great ecclesiastical Councils, more ancient and œcumenical.”

When it appeared to Charles I. that the proposed gathering was merely a gigantic project for the overthrow of the Church of England, and the erection of Puritanism or Presbyterianism on its ruins, he withdrew his assent to the whole scheme. Nevertheless, on the 13th of May 1643, an Ordinance was introduced by the Commons for calling an Assembly for “settling of the Government and Liturgy of the Church of England,” and for bringing that church into “nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other Reformed Churches abroad.” The Assembly was to be as representative as possible, delegates were invited to attend from most of the Protestant bodies, and warm invitations were issued to the Kirk of Scotland.

On the 1st of July 1643 the great Protestant Synod met at Westminster, in Henry VII.’s Chapel.

Dr Twisse, a minister of the Church of England,

presided over the 129 divines and 30 lay assessors, who in a few months were to be joined by six delegates from Scotland. The Erastians and the Independents were well represented by leading men. The divines were just settling to their work at Westminster, when a notable Assembly met at Edinburgh, on the 2nd of August, with Henderson as Moderator, and Sir Thomas Hope, the Lord Advocate, a "keen Covenanter," as Lord Commissioner. Delegates arrived from the English Parliament, and from the Westminster Assembly, the latter bearing a letter from the divines, a letter which was a dismal wail of abject terror because of the "cursed Papists," who evidently made even the divines tremble. After much discussion Henderson drew up a draft of a Covenant, and the same day it was unanimously accepted by the Assembly and the Estates. Those who subscribed "A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland," swore, "with their hands lifted up to the Most High God," to "endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the Three Kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, form of Church Government, directory for Worship and Catechizing; that we and our posterity after us may as brethren live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us." They were to "endeavour the extirpation of Popery and Prelacy"; to "preserve and defend the King's person and authority," and to maintain a "blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors." The

Covenant was sent to England, and on the 4th September was sworn to by the English Parliament and by the Assembly of Divines; afterwards it was subscribed in every county in England. The Covenanters were victorious. To its enemies the Covenant was "that infamous, intolerant, and bloodthirsty document;"¹ to its zealous upholders, many of whom would gladly have laid down their lives for it, it was "that Covenant which the Lord did ratify from heaven,"² "the wisest, the sublimest, and the most sacred document ever framed by uninspired men,"³ the very Ark of God. But we would neither allude to the long forgotten Covenant in the wild language of abuse of its enemies, nor in the inflated sentences of its adorers, and rather would describe it in the calm words of a faithful Presbyterian historian. He says: "The whole of its spirit was in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity, breathing an intolerance that sapped the most sacred of those rights which it was one of its avowed designs to secure, . . . partially destroying that free exercise of private judgment for which the first Reformers, to their immortal honour, had strenuously contended."⁴

The true Covenanters made no secret of their project, which they boldly announced was the extirpation of Popery and Prelacy, or, in short, of all forms of faith

¹ *The Episcopal Church of Scotland.* John Parker Lawson, p. 630.

² *Hinde Let Loose*, p. 80.

³ *History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines*, by W. M. Hetherington, p. 127.

Cook's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 64.

different from those they personally approved. They declared that they fought against those who had been "setting up their Dagon, and erecting altars for him, imposing the Service Book and Canons for him."¹ As their cause prospered we read: "But in Scotland things went well. The kingdom of our Lord Jesus was greatly advanced, and the glory of the Lord did shine upon us with such a splendour that it illuminated England."²

As winter approached, the divines removed from the chilly church to the comfortable Jerusalem Chamber, "a fair room in the Abbey of Westminster," where a good fire was blazing. Thither in November arrived the Scotch Commissioners—the ministers being Alexander Henderson, "eminent for his great prudence"; Samuel Rutherford, famed for "his heavenly gifts"; George Gillespie, "that eminent disputant"; and Robert Baillie, "a man for communications." The elders were Lord Maitland (afterwards Duke of Lauderdale) and Johnstone of Warristone, and all anticipated a winter's work after their own hearts.

On Christmas Day, 1643, Baillie writes: "We prevailed with our friends of the Lower House to carry it so in Parliament, that both Houses did profane that holy day by sitting on it, to our joy, and some of the Assembly's shame."

On December 19th, 1644, by advice of the Assembly, Parliament decreed the observance of Christmas Day as a day for national fasting and humiliation.

¹ *Hinde let Loose.*

² *Ibid.*

On June 8th, 1647, Parliament abolished the observance of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and all other festival days, "commonly called holy days."

In January 1645, the Directory for the Public Worship of God, drawn up by the divines, was sent to Scotland, and, together with the Form of Presbyterian Church Government, was unanimously approved by the General Assembly and the Scottish Parliament. The Directory was intended to supersede the Book of Common Prayer and the Ordinal in England, and the post-Reformation formularies in Scotland. To ministers or pastors, "the keys of the kingdom of heaven are committed, by virtue whereof they have power respectively to retain and remit sins. . . ." Elders possessed a share in the church government, and deacons attended to the poor. Ministers were to be ordained by the laying on of hands of presbyters, with prayer and fasting. No forms of prayer were prescribed, but suggestions for conceived prayer were supplied. The dead were to be buried without ceremony, praying, reading, or singing being forbidden. The Lord's Day only was to be kept holy as the "Christian Sabbath," and the observance of festival days was to be abandoned. A religious fast "requires total abstinence from all food," unless "when ready to faint, somewhat may be taken, yet very sparingly." The Directory was the beginning of the end of all forms of worship in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. By the influence of the Westminster Assembly, and by its decrees, these changes were now effected, namely, "The discontinuance of daily service, of private devotion on entering church, of read prayers, of the reading of Holy

Scripture, of the Gloria, of taking up of the offertory during divine service," whilst the Lord's Prayer was passing out of use, the recitation of the Apostles' Creed was dropped out, and ministers were required to give two lectures as well as two sermons every Sunday.¹

The Confession of Faith, prepared by the Westminster Assembly, was accepted in 1647 by the General Assembly of Scotland. On the Holy Trinity it taught that "in the Unity of the Godhead there be Three Persons, of One Substance, Power and Eternity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. The Father is of none, neither begotten nor proceeding; the Son is eternally begotten of the Father; the Holy Ghost eternally proceeding from the Father and Son." In the Lord Jesus Christ "the Godhead and the Manhood were inseparably joined together in One Person. By His Perfect Obedience and Sacrifice of Himself, which He once offered up unto God, He hath fully satisfied the Justice of His Father." Baptism was to be administered "by a Minister of the Gospel lawfully called thereunto." "Grace and Salvation are not so inseparably annexed unto it, as that no person can be regenerated or saved without it, or that all that are baptised are undoubtedly regenerated." In the chapter of "the Lord's Supper" it was taught that "worthy receivers . . . did . . . by faith, really and indeed, yet not carnally and corporally, but spiritually, receive Christ crucified, and all the benefits of His death." Yet the shadowy rite was regarded by true Presbyterians with exceeding veneration

¹ See *Sprott*, p. 81; and *The Creed in Scotland*, James Rankin, D.D.

and love, and was preceded by prayer and fasting, and followed by solemn thanksgiving. The souls, when separated from the bodies of the righteous, "are received into the Highest Heavens, . . . and the souls of the wicked are cast into Hell. . . . Besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none." "Of God's Eternal Decree," it is taught—"By the decree of God, for the manifestation of His Glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others fore-ordained to everlasting death. These men and angels thus predestinated and fore-ordained are particularly and unchangeably designed, and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished, neither are any other redeemed by Christ, . . . and saved but the Elect only. The rest of mankind God was pleased . . . for the Glory of His Sovereign Power over His Creatures to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sin, to the praise of His Glorious Justice." "Of Effectual Calling," it is taught that only the Elect can be saved, and others, "although . . . they may have some common operations of the spirit; yet they never truly come unto Christ, and therefore cannot be saved . . . much less can men not professing the Christian Religion be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the Light of Nature, and the Law of that Religion they do profess; and to assert and maintain that they may, is very pernicious and to be detested." Man, by his fall, is "dead in Sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body."

"The Catholic or Universal Church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the Elect. . . . There is no other Head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ; nor can the Pope of Rome, in any sense, be head thereof; but is that Antichrist, that Man of Sin, and Son of Perdition, that exalteth himself in the Church, against Christ and all that is called God."

Such are certain main outlines of that Confession of Faith which is held by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, by other Presbyterian churches in the United Kingdom, and by many Presbyterians in America. Predestination is the one distinguishing doctrine of Calvinism, and the Confession is "the most elaborate and formal expression of Calvinistic doctrine that exists."¹

The preparation of Catechisms occupied the divines for a considerable time, and not till 1648 were the Larger and Shorter Catechisms ratified by the General Assembly.

Finally, the Westminster Assembly sanctioned a new metrical version of the Psalms, which was founded on one by Francis Rous, a member of the House of Commons, and was supplemented by the Laird of Rowallan, and the minister Zachary Boyd; this version was to succeed the older one by Thomas Sternholde and John Hopkins, which had been used in Scotland since 1563. It was formally authorised in 1650, and to this day maintains its authority.

This metrical Psalter, frequently rendered in bad rhythm and doggerel rhyme, bears indeed but small

¹ Principal Tulloch in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, vol. ii. pp. 658-661.

resemblance to the majestic "Prayer-Book of Christ and the Saints," yet it possesses a "rude sort of majesty of its own." It was to be a note of tenderness and joy in the dirge of Calvinism, and from the cradle to the grave multitudes of Scottish men and women were to find promises of peace in its rugged pages.

We turn with relief from the cruel and the horrible God of the Eternal Decrees and the Effectual Calling to the Good Shepherd as foreseen and sung of by the King of Israel in his Psalms :—

" The Lord's my Shepherd, I'll not want ;
He makes me down to lye
In pastures green ; He leadeth me
The quiet waters by.

" My soul He doth restore again,
And me to walk doth make,
In to the paths of righteousness,
Ev'n for His own Name's sake."

CHAPTER VI.

CHARLES REX. 1648.

“O Death, made proud with pure and princely beauty !”

—*King John.*

THE City of Confusion was enlarging its boundaries, was adding street to street, and lengthening the boulevards of despair. Whilst the Divines were debating and legislating in the Westminster Assembly, the Mother of Confusion was most prolific. In England, Covenanters, Independents, Brownists, Chiliasts or Millenaries, Manifestarians or Arminians, Libertines, Familists, Enthusiasts, Seekers, Waiters, Perfectists, Socinians, Arians, Anti-Trinitarians, Anti-Scripturists, Sceptics and Questionists, were ready to rend each other asunder, and were degrading the name of the religion of the Son of God.

In Scotland, for the beautiful Bride of the Lamb, for the King's Daughter “within in golden borders,” had been substituted “Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Covenanters, Independents, Cross - Covenanters, Anti-Covenanters, Puritans, Barbareries, Roundheads, Old-Horns, New-Horns, Cross - Petitioners, Brownists, Separatists, Malignants, Sectaries, Royalists, Quakers, and Anabaptists. Strange that any should have mistaken this “fearful vision of schism and of heresy,” this “hideous

phantom," for the teacher sent by Almighty God.¹ The Anglican Establishment was for the time crushed, and Presbyterianism, as the dominant Protestant sect next to Anglicanism, had taken its place. The days of the Primate of all England were numbered. He, now seventy years of age, "an old weak man, for vengeance thrown aside," had been in prison more than three years, when, on the 12th of March 1644, he appeared before the Bar of the House of Lords. As it was difficult to make him answerable for all the evils that were afflicting the kingdom, an accusation of Popish tendencies was fallen upon as a certain means of compassing his destruction, and thus of avenging the Scottish Kirk for the Service Book of 1637. And yet no man living was a more ardent Protestant than Laud. He was really the "greatest enemy which Rome had encountered since the days of Luther";² but he was foredoomed to death, and, after a weary trial and much suffering, bravely borne, this faithful son and Primate of the Church of England, and faithful Erastian, was beheaded on Towerhill on the 10th of January 1645, his dying words being those of meekness and forgiveness, and of fervent testimonies to his Anglican Protestantism. It was said "that the Archbishop's writings had smote the Papist under the fifth rib; and wherever his grave should be, St Paul's Church would be his monument, and his book against Fisher the Jesuit his epitaph."³

¹ See Gangraena and *Per Crucem ad Lucem*, vol. i. p. 272. *Nichol's Diary*.

² Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. vi.

³ Sir Edward Deering, cited in *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* by John Skinner, vol. ii. p. 300.

One signal accusation at his trial was—"He hath maliciously and trayterously plotted and endeavoured to stir up war and enmity between his Majesty's two kingdoms of England and Scotland, and to that purpose hath laboured to introduce into the Kingdom of Scotland divers innovations both in Religion and Government, all, or the most part, tending to Popery and Superstition." This his Grace denied; and in regard to the Scottish Service Book declared,—“And I do verily believe there is no one thing in *THAT BOOK* which may not stand with the conscience of a right good *Protestant*.”¹

On the 15th of January 1644, 21,000 Scottish troops, commanded by Alexander Leslie, now Earl of Leven, crossed the Borders “in a dismal snowie season,” with a frost so intense that the army marched over the Tweed on the ice. All events were now tending towards a decisive conflict, and the Assembly of Divines devoted a day, from nine in the morning to five in the afternoon, to confessing their sins, and praying that the blessing of Heaven might go with their cause. The King, relying on his nephew, Prince Rupert, met the combined armies of the Scottish and English Parliaments on Sunday, the 2nd of July 1644, at Marston Moor, near York. Thanks principally to Cromwell and his Ironsides, as well as to David Leslie, nephew of Lord Leven, the Parliamentarians gained a complete victory.

In January 1645, an attempt to arrange a treaty was made at Uxbridge, near Oxford. Then a dreary wrangle took place between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians,

¹ Laud's *Diary*.

each claiming for their system divine right, till the Marquis of Hertford terminated the discussion by remarking that both claimed what he believed neither possessed. The treaty failed, as the sweeping terms demanded of the King—the abolition of Prelacy, and the authorisation of the Directory, “all amounting to the establishment of Presbytery in England”—were refused.¹

Cromwell, now following up his advantage, was instrumental in obtaining the Self-denying Ordinance, which was passed in April 1645, and prohibited Members of Parliament from holding command in the army. Cromwell was himself a Member of Parliament, yet, in virtue of his great military genius, he became General of the Ironsides—those strange battalions which were distinguished by austere morality, combined with an ostentatious parade of a grim type of religion, and a deadly hatred of the outward symbols of Christianity. Whilst in England the King's cause was proceeding from bad to worse, vigorous efforts to save him were taking place in Scotland. In the spring of 1644 the Marquis of Huntly rose up for him in the North, and Montrose, who had been commissioned Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland and General of the Forces, and in May 1644 had been created a Marquis, in the South of the country; but their attempts were at that time fruitless, and Sir John Gordon of Haddo, Sir James Maxwell, and John Logie paid for their loyalty with their lives, being beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh.

¹ *Cook*, vol. iii. p. 92. *Peterkin's Records*.

The Marquis of Montrose reached Prince Rupert just one day late for Marston Moor, but even that defeat of the Royalists had not daunted the Scottish hero. "Give me a thousand of your horse and I will cut my way into the heart of Scotland," he said to Rupert; and though the Prince promised him his thousand, he gave him not a single steed. Finally, in the disguise of a groom, mounted on a base and jaded animal, Montrose crossed the Borders.

In the summer of 1644 he unfurled the Royal Standard on the banks of the Garry. He was joined by a horde of 1500 men from Ireland, and wild Highlanders swarmed from the mountains. With these undisciplined troops Montrose swept down upon Perth. On September 12th, at Tippermuir, near Perth, he defeated Lord Elcho; and soon after this victory he was joined by the Earl of Airlie, now sixty years of age, and his two gallant younger sons, Thomas and David Ogilvy, who in victory or in defeat were never to forsake him.

Meanwhile Argyll was leading the Covenanters in the North, and was following, albeit at a prudent personal distance, the swift feet of the brave Marquis. Montrose took Aberdeen by storm, and defeated Argyll at Fyvie. Then the northern winter set in, but, defying the snow-wreathed mountain passes, he surprised Macallummore in his fortress of Inveraray, and ravaged his country with fire and sword. At Inverlochy he again routed Argyll, slaughtering the fugitives for nine miles without cessation.

And now, the Kirk and the Parliament taking the alarm, recalled General Baillie and Colonel Sir John

Hurry from England to head their forces. Ere this Montrose had stormed Dundee, and with his dauntless men had made the famous march, almost unparalleled in the annals of war, of sixty miles, without halt, or food, or drink. At Auldearn and Alford he defeated the Covenanters, and on the 16th of August 1645 gained his last and greatest victory at Kilsyth. Scotland was now at his feet, and the hero formed the grand design of leading his army to England and uniting with that of the King. But the tide had turned, and the brief, brilliant campaign of a year and twelve days was terminated on the 13th of September 1645, when Montrose, with the fragments of his army, was totally routed by David Leslie at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk.

After the Battle of Philiphaugh, the royal cause was wrecked in the North, and now it was perishing also in England.

On 3rd of March 1644, at Abingdon, King Charles parted from his beloved wife, never to meet her again on earth. On 16th of June 1644 she gave birth to a daughter at Exeter, and, within a fortnight afterwards, the poor Queen fled for her life to the Continent. After her departure, the King entered Exeter in triumph, and there his last-born child, Henrietta Anne, received her father's first and last kiss.

On 14th of June 1645, he was totally defeated at Naseby in Northamptonshire. In May 1646, King Charles, who was now well-nigh driven to despair, committed himself to the tender mercies of the Scots, and entered their camp at Newark.

After the battle of Philiphaugh, the Covenanters, with

a foul treachery disgraceful to humanity, marched into the plain a company of Royalists who had surrendered on condition that their lives should be spared, and butchered them like cattle at the shambles. "Thine eye shall not pity, and thou shalt not spare." "What meaneth, then, this bleating of the sheep in my ears, and the lowing of the oxen?" raved the fanatic ministers, when even Covenanted soldiers would have shown mercy. It was said that many "were driven together, and by command of the Covenanting chiefs thrown headlong from a high bridge and drowned in the river below,—men, women, and babes at the breast. As they struggled to the side they were beaten down with bludgeons and hurled back into the waters."¹

Doubtless, blood had been shed freely by the conquerors at Kilsyth and Inverlochy, but Montrose did not permit the cruelties of his soldiers in the name of religion.

Certain picked and selected prisoners were reserved by the prudent Covenanters, to be turned to profitable account by being made a public example of. Among those tried and executed were Sir Robert Spottiswood, son of the late Archbishop of St Andrews, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, Andrew Guthrie, son of the Bishop of Moray, and Alexander Ogilvy, younger of Inverquharity. Ogilvy was a bright boy of eighteen, just home from college, and it was at the time of his execution at Glasgow that David Dickson, the minister, exclaimed, "The wark

¹ *The Memoirs of James, Marquis of Montrose*, by the Rev. George Wishart, p. 150.

goes bonnily on!"¹ Another early doomed to shut his eyes on the light of the sun was poor young William Murray, brother of the Earl of Tullibardine, who was executed before he was eighteen. Lord Ogilvy, eldest son of the Earl of Airlie, was condemned, but escaped from prison by the timely aid of a brave sister.

Within the Scottish camp the King had neither "drunk, refreshed, or reposed himself" before his impatient and tyrant subjects endeavoured, but in vain, to force him to sign the Covenant, and to command "James Graham" "to lay down his arms." Charles reminded Earl Lothian that "he who had made him an Earl had made James Graham a Marquis." In regard to Montrose, he was, however, compelled to yield, and in a sad letter, dated "Newcastle" (for thither the Scots had retreated), "May 19th, 1646," His Majesty wrote to his baffled champion, "You must disband your forces and go into France." Accordingly, Montrose, to whom his Sovereign's word was law, on a melancholy day, 30th of July 1646, bade adieu to the poor fragments of his gallant army at Rattray in Perthshire. Certain of his comrades besought permission to accompany him, but he tore himself away from all, and rode off to see once again, before his embarkation, old Montrose, the ruined home of his fathers. On the 3rd of September, accompanied by the Rev. George Wishart, his chaplain and secretary, he set sail for Norway. He left behind him the grave of a son, and another grave growing green of Magdalene Carnegie, the wife of his youth. His dearest fellow

¹ *Napier*, p. 590.

warriors were also gone. Lord Kilpont, son of the Earl of Menteith, was assassinated after Tippermuir; Thomas Ogilvy died of his wounds after Inverlochy; Lord Gordon, son of the Marquis of Huntly, fell at Alford; and Lord Napier of Merchiston had died recently in Athole. His two surviving sons he was compelled to leave in Scotland, to the mercy of those who knew no mercy.

As in the case of his royal grandmother, the sorrows of Charles I. thickened and increased day by day, the nearer he approached the awful end. Having consented to hear one of the ministers in the Scottish camp preach, the preacher ordered the 52nd Psalm to be sung—"Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself, thy wicked deeds to praise?" Whereupon the insulted Monarch calmly stood up, and commanded instead the 56th Psalm—"Have mercy on me, Lord, I pray, for men would me devour." His unhappy sojourn in the camp was diversified by a theological discussion on Episcopacy and Presbyterianism with Alexander Henderson, who acted as royal chaplain. This was an entertainment which Charles probably appreciated less than his father would have done.

No means were left untried to induce him to make those concessions which would have lost Anglicanism for himself and his kingdom, but might have saved his throne and his life. The General Assembly appointed James Guthrie, Robert Douglas, and Andrew Cant to assail him in season and out of season, and to go on their knees to force him to yield. But to preaching, praying, bullying, and arguing, the Anglican king remained impregnable.

When, on the 19th of August 1646, Alexander

Henderson, "the fairest ornament, after Mr John Knox, of incomparable memory, that ever the Church of Scotland did enjoy,"¹ died, he was succeeded as chaplain by Robert Blair, who "applied himself to that employment with great diligence, every day praying before dinner and supper in the presence chamber; on the Lord's Day lecturing once and preaching twice; . . . as also conversing much with the King, desiring him to condescend to the just desires of the Parliament, and at other times debating concerning prelacy, liturgies, and ceremonies."

The following is a specimen of the kind of conversation in which the unfortunate Monarch had daily to participate with Blair:—"One day, after prayer, the King asked him if it was warrantable in prayer to determine a controversy. Mr Blair, taking the hint, said he thought he had determined no controversy in that prayer. 'Yes,' said the King, 'you have determined the Pope to be Anti-Christ, which is a controversy amongst orthodox divines.' To this Mr Blair replied: 'To me this is no controversy, and I am sorry it should be accounted so by your Majesty; sure it was none to your father.' This silenced the King, for he was a great defender of his father's opinions. . . ."²

Yet Charles I. was ready enough to proclaim his Protestant orthodoxy, as the Supreme Head of one of the most Protestant Churches in the world. "I take God to witness," he said to his ministers, "that there are abominations in Popery, which I so much abhor, that ere

¹ *Scots Worthies*, p. 167.

² *Ibid.*, p. 284.

I consent to them I would rather lose my life and my crown." On one occasion, when Archbishop Usher was just going to give him Communion, he rose and said to him, in a loud enough voice for the whole congregation to hear: "My lord, I have to the utmost of my soul prepared to become a worthy receiver; and may I so receive comfort by the blessed sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true reformed Protestant religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at Popery. I bless God that, in the midst of these public distractions, I have still liberty to communicate; and may this sacrament be to my damnation if my heart do not join with my lips in this protestation."¹

Events were now leading on to that dark day when a transaction mean and cowardly disgraced the annals of Scotland. All attempts, and they have been many and bold, to extenuate the Scots, only serve to make their behaviour appear more infamous. The English Parliament was deeply in debt to the Scottish army. Reducing the debt to £400,000, on the 16th of January 1647 Parliament agreed to pay this sum, whilst the Sovereign was to be delivered up by the Scots into their hands. Even before the formal agreement, on the 21st of December 1646, thirty-six carts left London with the first instalment of the money, £100,000, which was paid to the Scots at Newcastle. "I am only ashamed," said Charles I., "that my price is so much higher than my Saviour's." On the 30th of January the Scottish army

¹ *Rushworth*, v. 346.

departed from Newcastle, leaving their King in the custody of his enemies. His Majesty was first taken to Holmby House in Northamptonshire, and from thence to Hampton Court. When he was at Hampton Court the loyal party in Scotland, headed by the Duke of Hamilton, taking serious alarm, entered into negotiations for his liberation. So early as the 13th of August 1647, the Scottish Parliament had adopted a Declaration and a Remonstrance "to redeem his Majesty from the hands of Schismatics, and place him in his Parliament with honour and safety. . . ."

In October, Chancellor Loudon and the Earls of Lanark and Lauderdale were sent as commissioners to visit the King. They found his Majesty at Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight, whither he had escaped from Hampton Court on the 11th of November. He was now beset on every side, humbled to the dust, bewildered, a prisoner where he had hoped to be free, for the Governor of Carisbrook was in the pay of the enemy, and in desperation he entered into a treaty known as "the Engagement" with the Scots, by which the Covenant was to receive Parliamentary sanction, Presbyterianism was to be set up in England for three years, and at the end of three years a lasting form of church government was to be established. The Engagement enraged the extreme Kirk party. The King's concessions were not half sufficient, and the whole treaty implied some sort of union with, or at least of forbearance with, the Sectaries or "Malignants." All who were not Covenanters were Malignants. The opposition between the Kirk and the Parliament became stronger than ever, and now the

fanatic leaders of the Covenanters commanded the ministers to preach against the Engagement. Many of the ministers refused, and the Kirk was divided against itself.

Unquestionably, deadly hatred of the King was the mainspring of the extreme Covenanters' policy. By ample reference to the Old Testament, by the renunciation of confederation with "the enemies of the True Religion, whether Canaanites . . . or other nations, by the condemnation of Asa his Covenant with Benhadad, of Ahaz with the King of Assyria, and of other associations with wicked men of the seed of Abraham, as Jehoshaphat with Achab," the Assembly of July 1648 triumphantly proved the exceeding sinfulness of the Engagement, and maintained that "to unite with Malignants against Sec-taries was to join hands with a black devil to beat a white one."¹ These misguided men were not only defying the powers that be, but were splitting the Kirk to pieces. As Baillie said truly, "The dangers of this regiditie is lyke to be fatal to the King, to the whole Isle, both churches and states : we mourn for it to God. Though it proceeds from two or three men at most, it seems remedieless."²

Party feeling ran higher and higher. A fight took place at Mauchline, when the Engagers, as those who had agreed to the Engagement were called, under General Middleton, dispersed some 2000 of the Covenanters. The Engagers entered England, under the Duke of Hamilton, and on August 17th, 1648, were defeated at

¹ Peterkin's *Records*, p. 509.

² *Baillie*, vol. ii. p. 38.

Preston by Cromwell, General John Lambert, and the Ironsides, the Duke being taken prisoner. The Covenanters, who were now dominant, fraternised with Cromwell, Sectary though he was, while a change of Government known as the "Whiggamores' Raid" again established Argyll as their leader. They passed the "Act of Classes" which rendered all the Engagers and all hostile to the Covenant incapable of holding places of honour and trust. They made over Berwick and Carlisle to Cromwell, and invited him to Edinburgh. There he was received in "the most friendly and magnificent manner by Argyll, and lodged in a stately house in the Canongate." Argyll entertained him to a public banquet, and escorted him like a conqueror to the Castle, amidst a roar of artillery. All that took place during this visit will never be known, but it is believed that in Edinburgh preliminaries of the events which culminated in the tragedy of Whitehall were adjusted, for we are told that Cromwell "secretly entered into an accursed compact with Argyll and his partisans to destroy the good King, then his prisoner, and all his race, and they engaged to help each other in rooting out monarchy throughout Britain. Of this, Cromwell, on his return to England, was wont to brag among his party far more than of his victory at Preston."¹

On the 16th of September 1648, King Charles was permitted to leave Carisbrook Castle for the neighbouring town of Newport. Then he was taken to "solitary Hurst," a dismal fortress on the coast of Hampshire, and

¹ *Wishart*, p. 223.

from thence to Windsor Castle. He must have realised that it was the beginning of the end when, on the 18th of January 1649, he was removed from Windsor to St James's Palace, and on the 19th to Whitehall. "God is everywhere alike in wisdom, power, and goodness," he only said. Previous to this "his Majesty had private notice how that the House of Commons, in a resolve, had declared, that by the Laws of England it was Treason in the King to levy war against the Parliament and Kingdom; which Resolve they sent up unto the Lords for their concurrence. The Lords . . . rejected it . . . whereupon the House of Commons passed another vote, viz., that the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, have the Supreme Power, and pursuant thereto, passed an Act for the Tryal of the King."

On the 20th of January, the self-constituted judges of the King of Great Britain assembled in Westminster Hall. On the same day his Majesty was brought in a sedan chair from Whitehall to Sir Robert Cotton's house, near the west end of Westminster Hall, and here during the wretched period of his trial he slept each night. A few days sufficed to do him to death. Indignities and insults were studiously augmented; and when the final awful judgment came, when the President proclaimed that he was to be "put to death by the severing of his head from his body," his Majesty was "observed to smile, and lift up his eyes to Heaven, as appealing to the Divine Majesty, the most Supreme Judge." The death warrant was signed by fifty-nine members of the Court, led by Bradshaw, Grey, and Oliver Cromwell.

On the 29th the executioners received ultimate ghastly

instructions "to see the said sentence executed in the open street before Whitehall upon the morrow, being the 30th day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning and five in the afternoon."¹

"The King, at the rising of the Court, was, with a guard of Halberdiers, returned to Whitehall in a close chair, through King Street, both sides whereof had a Guard of Foot-Soldiers, who were silent as his Majesty passed. But shop-stalls and windows were full of people, many of which shed tears, and some of them with audible voices pray'd for the King, who through the Privy-Garden was carried to his Bed-Chamber, whence, after two hours space, he was removed to St James's. Nothing of the fear of death, or indignities offered, seem'd a terror, or provoked him to impatience, nor uttered he a reproachful word reflecting upon any of his Judges (albeit he well knew that some of them had been his domestick-servants) or against any member of the House, or officer of the army; so wonderful was his patience, though his spirit was great, and might otherwise have express'd his resentment upon several occasions. It was a true Christian fortitude to have the mastery of his passion, and submission to the will of God under such temptations."

For the few hours of life that remained to him the King desired only to be left alone and in peace, but, with his usual consideration for others, said of those who might be disappointed in not bidding their last adieux : "I hope they will not take it ill that none have access

¹ *Historical Collections*, John Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 1426.

unto me but my children. The best office they can do now is to pray for me."

Certain officious divines arrived at St James's. Mr Calamy, Mr Vines, Mr Carryl, Mr Dill, and some London ministers proffered the King their services. His Majesty returned them thanks for their love to his soul, and asked their prayers. Dr Juxon alone he wished to be with him.

The very night of the death sentence we can conceive the pang with which this gentle and refined soul heard that two musketeers were to pass the night in his bed-chamber. What grace was required to acquiesce as he did, only with a sigh! Mercifully, the King's faithful attendant, Thomas Herbert, who was to be with him to the end, and good Dr Juxon, "apprehending the horror of it," here made a firm stand, and saved him this misery.

On the 29th of January, the little Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester—the only two of the six royal children then in England; the others and their mother were abroad—came from Sion House. The Princess was thirteen years old, and could realise the anguish of this meeting and parting. The tears fell in floods, and her nine-year-old brother broke down too. "The King lifted them up; he kissed them, gave them his blessing, and setting them on his knees, admonished them concerning their duty and loyal observance to the Queen their mother, and to their eldest brother. His few remaining jewels he put in their hands. More agonising words and kisses followed, the Princess was blind with weeping, till the King turned aside, unable to

bear it. The bed-chamber door was open—they were going—the King turned again, and after desperate kisses and embraces, the door was closed, and their father heard for the last time the little feet trip along the passage, never to return. For him the bitterness of death was past. This was the King's last night on earth, and he tarried long in prayer, till, utterly worn out, he lay down and slept for about four hours. Waking two hours before the dawn of the winter's morning, while his wax night-light still burned feebly in its silver basin, he drew his curtain, and calling Herbert, who slept in a pallet by his bed, said: "For I will get up, having a great work to do this day. Herbert, this is my second marriage day; I would be as trim to-day as may be, for before night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus. Let me have a shirt on more than ordinary, by reason the season is so sharp as probably may make me shake, which some observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not death! Death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared."

Dr Juxon early arrived; and after committing to Herbert his bible for the Prince of Wales, a silver sundial for the Duke of York, for the Princess Elizabeth various books, including Laud against Fisher the Jesuit, as a special preservative from Popery, and other remembrances, the King spent an hour alone with the Bishop. Brief time now remained, and the dying man put the last finishing touches to his preparations for his long journey to the land whence no traveller ever returns, which was to begin at two o'clock in the afternoon.

Accompanied by the Bishop and Colonel Tomlinson,

with a quick step he left the palace, between companies of infantry. Behind the soldiers crowded men and women "to behold the saddest sight England ever saw. And as his Majesty passed by, with a cheerful look he heard them pray for him, the soldiers not rebuking any of them; by their silence and dejected faces seeming afflicted rather than insulting." When the King reached Whitehall, he received the Communion; and then, at the Bishop's suggestion, took a piece of bread and a glass of claret.

On the scaffold Charles I. said: "I die a Christian, according to the profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my father." Turning to Colonel Hacker he said: "Take care that they do not put me to pain, and see this and it please you." To a gentleman who stood near the axe, the King said: "Take heed of the axe, pray take heed of the axe"; then, speaking to the executioner, said: "I shall say but very short prayers, and then thrust out my hand." Then the King called to Dr Juxon for his nightcap; and having put it on, he said to the executioner: "Does my hair trouble you?" who desired him to put it all under his cap, which the King did accordingly by the help of the executioner and the Bishop. Then the King, turning to Dr Juxon said: "I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side." "There is but one stage more," said the Bishop; "this stage is turbulent and troublesome. It is a short one, but you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven, and then you shall find to your great joy the prize you haste to, a crown of glory!" "I go," replied the dying

King, "from a corruptible crown, where no disturbance can be." "You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown," said the Bishop; "a good exchange." Then the King took off his cloak and his George, giving his George to Dr Juxon, saying, "Remember" (it is thought for the Prince), and some other small ceremonies past, after which the King stooping down, laid his neck upon the block, and after a little pause, stretching forth his hands, the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body."¹

The snow was falling fast that January afternoon. Not faster than the tears of his people when the "white King" went to his grave.

¹ See *Memoirs of the Two Last Years of the Reign of that unparalleled Prince of ever Blessed Memory King Charles I.*, by Sir Thomas Herbert.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HUMILIATION OF THE LAND.

“ Stands Scotland where it did ?
Alas, poor country,
Almost afraid to know itself. It cannot
Be call’d our mother, but our grave ; where nothing,
But who knows nothing, is once seen to smile,
Where sighs and groans, and shrieks that rend the air
Are made, not mark’d. . . .”

—*Macbeth.*

“ RIGHT reverend and honourable. This day about two of the clock in the afternoon, his Majesty was brought out of the window of the banqueting house at Whitehall, near which a stage was set by, and his head struck off with an axe ; wherewith we hold it our duty to acquaint you ; and so we *being in haste* shall say no more at this time, but that we remain your affectionate friends to serve. Lothian J. Chieslie.” By this laconic message to the General Assembly were the people of Scotland, on Sunday, the 4th of February 1649, made aware of the murder of their King. Just sixty-three years before, on a grey February day, the herald of the tragedy of Fotheringhay had brought to Edinburgh news of the execution of the grandmother of Charles I.

And far away in Brussels, the stunning intelligence

was received, and, being suddenly brought to Montrose, the faithful champion had fallen down in his anguish, stiff and cold, as one dead. With returning consciousness he exclaimed, "I swear before God, angels, and man, that I will dedicate the remainder of my life to avenging the death of the royal martyr, and re-establishing his son upon his father's throne." Shut up in his own chamber for two days, till he had recovered from the shock, the poet warrior wrote—

"Great, Good and Just, could I but rate
My grief with thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world in such a strain,
As it would deluge once again ;¹

I'll sing thine obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thine epitaph in blood and wounds."

Queen Henrietta Maria was at the Louvre, and, dazed with grief, disappeared immediately for a time to the Carmelite Convent in the Faubourg Saint Jacques.

In England royalty and the House of Lords were abolished, and a Commonwealth had succeeded to the Monarchy, but Scotland still adhered to the King, Charles II. Indeed, with many the faults of his father were forgotten, or were obscured in the awful popularity of death. Due outward respect was paid to the memory of Charles I. in Scotland, for if he had died at Whitehall, he had been born at Dunfermline. In a newspaper published late in February, we are informed that "most of the gentry of Scotland, since the death of the King, are

¹ See *Wishart*, p. 228.

clothed in mourning, and the Chair of State in the Parliament House and uppermost seats of the Kirks and the Pulpits are clothed in black.”¹ The *Eikon Basilike, or the Portraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings*,”² was published immediately in England, and running rapidly through fifty editions, did a great part in winning even enemies to forgive the errors of a King who had reigned so grandly on the scaffold of Whitehall.

On the 5th of February, Charles II. was proclaimed “over the cross of Edinburgh only conditionally till he did subscribe the League and Covenant, and till that time, not to have any exercise of his royal power.”³ “One act of our lamentable Tragedy being ended,” writes Baillie, “we are entering again upon the scene. Oh, if it might be the Lord’s pleasure, to perform more happy and comfortable actions than have appeared these years bygone.”⁴

Two days later an Act was passed to the effect that neither the King nor his successors should reign till they had sworn to both the Covenants, and consented to the establishment of Presbyterianism. Close on the execution of the King followed that of Hamilton, who was beheaded in London on the 9th of March, and on the 22nd of the same month at the Cross of Edinburgh the noble Huntly, who, except for one misunderstanding

¹ See a newspaper called *The Perfect Weekly Account*.

² This work was professed to be by Charles I., but the authorship is disputed.

³ Lamont’s *Diary*, p. 1.

⁴ *Baillie*, vol. iii. p. 66.

which he had with his King and country, was the ideal of patriotism and of loyalty, was also beheaded. Strong measures were made to save him, but the bloody tribunal of the Covenant was inexorable.

Bearing the conditions of the Scottish Parliament, which plainly were that the King was to surrender himself body and soul to the Kirk, a deputation of the creatures of Argyll and the ministers, headed by the Earl of Cassillis, the Laird of Brodie, and the Laird of Libberton, Alexander Jaffray, Provost of Aberdeen, Robert Baillie, Robert Blair, and James Wood, representing the Kirk, and James Dalrymple, afterwards first Viscount Stair, "the greatest lawyer Scotland has produced,"¹ acting as Secretary, sailed from Kirkcaldy for the Hague, where Charles II. was residing, on the 17th of March, and arrived at Rotterdam on the 22nd. The Commissioners were provided with a fine presentation copy for his Majesty (which would prove agreeable reading) of "the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Directory, the Confession of Faith, the Catechise, the propositions of Government bound together in a book as handsome as we could get them."² On the 27th of March, after a day of humiliation, the delegates appeared before the King in his bedchamber at the Hague uttering deep groans and sighs. They were those Covenanters who knew well how to speak of the "cruel murder of our master, and the horrid resolutions taken at London for the destruction both of religion and monarchy." The

¹ See *Memoir Life of Sir James Dalrymple*, by Æ. J. G. M'Kay.

² *Baillie*, vol. iii. p. 87.

loyalty of Montrose may be measured by their deadly hatred of his very name. Preceding every condition laid before Charles II. was the fundamental one, that he should remove from his presence "James Graham" as a "man unworthy to come near his presence or into the society of any good man," being "a man cast out of the Church of God,—the most bloody murderer in our nation," "a cursed man," of "scandalous carriage, pernicious counsels, and contagious company." By such language they proved that one Montrose was more than a match for a thousand covenanted swords. His Majesty bore with the lugubrious embassy, and agreed to establish the Covenant in Scotland, but would make no engagements for England or Ireland. The delegates returned home, leaving the young King leisure to enjoy the magnificently bound volume, and to arrange an ambiguous policy which gave no qualms to his accommodating conscience. He resolved to keep friends with the Kirk, and at the same time to trust Montrose. His champion received kindly encouragement from the widowed Queen Henrietta Maria in Paris, as well as from the King's aunt, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, known as the "Queen of Hearts." He went with the King to Breda, and then, after a return to the Hague, accompanied by Lord Napier, he set out for Ham-
burgh. Having received a fresh commission from Charles II. in the spring of 1650, Montrose was ready for that brief last campaign he called his "Passions." As Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland, and Commander-in-Chief, he issued a stirring manifesto, calling on his compatriots, down-trodden under the Covenant's reign of terror, to arise and to avenge that deed when, "contrary, to all faith and pac-

tion, trust of friends, duty of subjects, laws of hospitality, nature, nations, divine and human, for which there hath never been precedent, nor can ever be a follower, most infamously and beyond all imaginable expression of invincible baseness, to the blush of Christians and abomination of mankind, the Covenanters sold their Sovereign over to their merciless fellow traitors to be destroyed.”¹ The tale of his passions is soon told. Truly he was to write his master’s epitaph “in blood and wounds.” His devoted friend the Earl of Kinnoul, who had preceded him to Orkney, died immediately at Kirkwall, setting the seal of misfortune on the opening campaign. At Orkney Montrose first landed, and from thence passed over to the mainland, accompanied by a miserable little army of a few emigrant Royalists, six hundred German mercenaries, and a horde of fishermen. Amid these sordid battalions waved gloomily the black taffety standard of the King, with the bleeding head crying out for vengeance, and the white damask banner of Montrose with the motto *nil medium*.

On April 27th Montrose was surprised at Invercharron, on the confines of Ross, and his army was utterly routed by Colonel Strahan, one of Leslie’s officers. His men fled or were cut to pieces, drowned in the River Oikel, or taken prisoners. Then, but not till after a desperate fight for life, and till the Royal standard was captured and the gallant young standard-bearer was slain, not till he saw that all was over, did Montrose, covered with

¹ *Declaration of His Excellency James, Marquis of Montrose*, Wishart, p. 267.

wounds, turn and flee from the bloody field. Well was his motto *nil medium*. He had staked his all for the King, to "win or lose it all," and he had lost. Tearing off his star-decorated coat he exchanged dress with a Highland shepherd, swam the river, and fled into the wilds. Lord Kinnoul, who had succeeded his brother in the title, was by his side, but he fell behind, faint from hunger, and was never heard of more, dying, it is supposed, of his privations. After three days of starvation, Montrose, who was reduced to eating a piece of his glove, "fortuned in this miserie to light upon a small cottage in that wilderness, where he was supplied with some milk and bread." Soon after this he fell into the hands of Neil Macleod, Laird of Assynt, from whom, though a friend of other years, the forlorn hero received no grace. Unpitying that "famine-wasted, fevered face," hankering only after the price set upon that "golden head," the laird sold him to his enemies for 400 bolls of meal.

And now was the hour of triumph come for the Covenanters, and with all the exultation of "mean, timid, and sullen spirits," they made the most of their grand capture. "From beyond the Beaully Firth to be-south the Forth," Montrose was dragged through the country to his doom at the Cross of Edinburgh. To that proud spirit, insult and humiliation were doubly bitter, but his patient demeanour was that of a perfect gentleman, even when seated "upon a little shelty horse, without a saddle, but a quilt of rags and straw, and pieces of rope for stirrups; his feet fastened under the horse's belly with a tether, a bit halter for a bridle; a ragged old dark reddish plaid, a monter (montero cap, called

magirky) on his head ; a musketeer on each side, and his fellow-prisoners after him." He was preceded by a herald, proclaiming, "Here comes James Graham, a traitor to his country." Concerning this march of anguish, we know that, being in a raging fever, Montrose, when near Inverness, besought a draught of cold water ; when the Provost of Inverness, with good intentions, said : " My Lord, I am sorry for your circumstances." The stately prisoner replied, " I am sorry for being the object of your pity " ; and that at Keith, where a halt was made for " the Sabbath," on the 12th of May, he was obliged to " hear sermon," and to suffer cruelly. Kinanmond, the minister, chose for his text the words of Samuel the prophet to Agag, the King of the Amalekites, " coming before him delicately : " " And Samuel said, as thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women, etc. " ; and in savage words reviled the Marquis. Montrose, patiently hearing him a long time, and he insisting still, said, " Rail on, Ra " (?), and so turned his back to him in the tent. " But all honest men hated Kinanmond for this ever after." It is heart-rending to read of his visit to the house of his father-in-law, Lord Southesk—the house that he had left just a few years before as a boy-bridegroom—that he might say farewell for the last time to two of his sons, boys of fourteen and twelve. He was to die heroically ; but life was still dear to the strong man in his prime, and at the House of Grange, not far from Dundee, an attempt was devised for escape. The lady of the house, having made the soldiers accompanying the prisoners and her own servants helplessly intoxicated with strong ale

and *aqua vitae*, Montrose, disguised in her dress, had safely passed the prostrate men, when he was seized by a wretched trooper, who raised the alarm, and the Marquis was dragged back to his prison.

Meanwhile the Covenanters were thirsting like tigers for the blood of their victim, and, fearful he might escape, they judged and condemned him before he reached Edinburgh. A thousand pulpits were thundering against him. The 15th of May was kept as a day of thanksgiving for his capture, and on that day "the new Psalm Books were read, and ordained to be sung through all the kingdom."¹

That not an hour might be lost, the Town Council contracted with workmen to "work all night," on the 17th of May, "for making of a high new gallows, and a double ladder in haste."

They also paid a wright "for making a seat" upon a cart "in form of a chair for James Graham to sit upon." At four o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, May 18th, a mournful procession reached the Netherbow, Port of Edinburgh. There awaited the hangman, and a cart drawn by four horses. The chair on which Montrose seated himself was "a high seat, in fashion of a chariot, upon each side of which were holes; through these, a cord being drawn crossing his breast and arms, bound him fast in that mock chair." The hangman then mounted one of the horses, "and solemnly drove along towards the Tolbooth."

Thousands were gazing on him, but the women

¹ Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 11.

who had been hired to stone him held their hands and wept. Only one spectator laughed at him, and that one was the Lady Jean Gordon, Countess of Haddington, the niece of Argyll. At a window with half-closed blinds sat Argyll and Warriston, and when the unflinching gaze of Montrose met their eyes they hastily turned away. Whilst the sad procession was advancing, the Great Hall of the Parliament House was being lit up by glaring torches, and the members were assembling to consider whether they should not then and there receive their prisoner, and pronounce his doom. It was, however, decided to defer this ceremonial till Monday morning; and well might Montrose desire, as he said, "that night to be at rest, for he was wearied with a longsome journey, and the compliment they had put upon him that day was something tedious." But even on the next day, Sunday, there was no "Sabbath in the land" for the fever-stricken, exhausted, tortured man. Several of the ministers arrived at the Tolbooth to preach and pray, to threaten, to insult, and to remind him that he had better acknowledge his sins against the Covenant, and so have his sentence of excommunication revoked, "having the fearful apprehension that what is bound on earth God will bind in heaven." One minister told him "he was a faggot of hell, and he saw him burning already."

On Monday morning Parliament met at ten o'clock, and Montrose, having first been told by Chancellor Loudon that he was "a person most infamous, perjured, treacherous," was commanded to kneel down to receive his sentence. He went on his knees, and, "full of composure,"

heard that he was "to be hanged upon a gallows thirty feet high, three hours, at Edinburgh Cross; to have his head stricken off, and hanged upon Edinburgh Tolbooth, and his arms and legs to be hanged up in other public towns in the kingdom, as Glasgow, etc., and his body to be buried at the common burying-place, in case excommunication from the Kirk was taken off; or else to be buried where those are buried that were hanged." Then followed the calm speech of the condemned. He acknowledged that he "did engage in the first Covenant, and was faithful to it; but for the League," he said, "I thank God I was never in it; and so could not break it. How far religion has been advanced by it, and what sad consequences followed on it, these poor distressed kingdoms can witness." "Never," said he, "was any man's blood spilt but in battle; and even then many thousand lives have I preserved." When taken back to the Tolbooth, he was again besieged by the ministers. "I think," he declared to them, "it a greater honour to have my head standing on the ports of this town, for this quarrel, than to have my picture in the King's bed-chamber," and, in exasperation, he exclaimed to the ministers, "I pray you, gentlemen, let me die in peace."

The few hours left to him on earth were thronged with misery. The Captain of the Town Guard, Major Weir, afforded him one candle in his prison, and, knowing that the Marquis hated tobacco, he continually smoked in his presence, and, even while he said his prayers, abused him as a "dog, atheist, traitor." Amid all his sufferings Montrose never forgot what was due to his

rank, and would fain have been beheaded instead of hung; but this privilege was denied the noble victim. Even during these last days he was as fastidious about personal details as though he had been at one of those royal courts where he was ever an honoured guest. Immediately on arriving in Edinburgh he ordered "a very rich suit, thick overlaid with costly lace, and over it a scarlet rochet," and in this he appeared at the Parliament House. He begged for a barber, but was refused. When, on Tuesday the 1st of May, the day of his death, he was "delicately" trimming his auburn locks, Johnstone of Warriston broke into his cell, and croaked, "Why is James Graham so careful of his locks?" "My head," replied the Marquis, "is yet my own; I will arrange it to my taste; to-night, when it will be yours, treat it as you please."

The old, scholarly instinct was with the poet-warrior to the last; and on Monday, after his return from the Parliament House, he scratched with a diamond on the window pane of his cell:—

"Let them bestow on every airt a limb,
Then open all my veins, that I may swim
To Thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake,—
Then place my par-boiled head upon a stake,
Scatter my ashes—strew them in the air,—
Lord! since Thou knowest where all these atoms are,
I'm hopeful Thou'lt recover once my dust,
And confident Thou'lt raise me with the just."

That Tuesday, the twenty-first of May, was a high festival, a glorious pageant for the Covenant. Early in the summer morning drums and trumpets were "sounding thro'

the town," and the dying man was preparing himself for his last hour as carefully as Queen Mary had done for the block at Fotheringhay. Loving hands had provided him with the toilet of death, and "very richly clad in fine scarlet, laid over with rich silver lace; his hat in his hand; his hands and cuffs exceeding rich; his delicate white gloves on his hands; his stockings of incarnate silk; his shoes with their ribbons on his feet; and sarks (embroidered linen) provided for him, with *pearling* (lace) about . . .," at two o'clock in the afternoon he walked from the Tolbooth to the Market Cross of Edinburgh, "with beauty, majesty, and gravity." The scaffold with its towering gibbet was soon reached, and, ascending it, Montrose turned to the multitude and uttered his last speech, his final words being: "I shall pray for you all. I leave my soul to God, my service to my Prince, my good-will to my friends, my love and charity to you all. And thus briefly I have exonerated my conscience." The ministers would not pray with him—doubtless this was one drop of comfort in his bitter cup. He turned aside and prayed fervently alone. He had made his peace with God, and needed not the services of Protester or Remonstrant. A bundle of his own writings was tied round his neck, and when the men were securing his arms he asked if they had any more dishonour to put upon him, for he was ready to accept of the same. He forgave the executioner, who was weeping bitterly, and, as he fastened the rope, put four gold pieces in his hand. Then, with courage and dignity, he mounted the long ladder. "God Almighty have mercy on this perishing nation" were his dying words; and in a few seconds all was

over. Thus died this prince of chivalry. He had, indeed, "feared God and honoured the King."¹ For nearly two months the bloody scaffold was unremoved, and was called, in ghastly pleasantry, "the minister's altar," of whom it was observed "that they delighted not in unbloody sacrifices."²

After the death of his great champion, Charles II. entered freely into negotiations with the Kirk. Another deputation arrived at Breda, "when," writes Alexander Jaffray, one of the Commissioners, "we did sinfully both entangle and engage both the nation and ourselves, and that poor prince to whom we were sent, making him sign and swear a Covenant, which we knew from clear and demonstrable reasons that he hated in his heart. Yet, finding that upon these terms only he could be admitted to rule over us (all other means having failed him), he sinfully complied with what *we* most sinfully pressed upon him; where, I must confess to my apprehension, *our* sin was worse than *his*."³

The King sailed from Holland, and on the 23rd of June landed at Speymouth. Previous, however, to setting foot on Scottish soil, he was forced to sign "both the Covenants, National and Solemn, and had notable sermons made unto him by the ministers to persevere therein."

Charles had looked for help from Ireland, but there the "Curse of Cromwell" had recently fallen; and though

¹ See *Wishart*, pp. 323-334.

² *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, by Rev. J. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 418.

³ Jaffray's *Diary*.

war between Scotland and the Commonwealth was imminent, no succour could now be afforded by that wasted and bleeding land of Ireland. On the 16th of July, Cromwell crossed the borders. The Scots, with inconceivable fanaticism, were reducing their troops deplorably by weeding out of them all "Malignants, Engagers, and enemies to the Covenant," as the presence of such monsters "could not fail of multiplying the judgments of God upon the land." A general purgation took place on the Links of Leith, and resulted in a sadly attenuated if a scrupulously purified army. But fanaticism was about to meet fanaticism. "God and the Covenant" was the war-cry of the northern army led by David Leslie; "The Lord of Hosts" of the Ironsides of Cromwell. Having been repulsed in an attempt to take Edinburgh, the English had retired to Dunbar, and there, with loud cries of "Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered," they charged into the ranks of the Covenanters, who, after a sharp fight, were totally routed on the 3rd of September. Three thousand Scots lay dead on the bloody field of Dunbar, and ten thousand were taken prisoners. The cause of this crushing defeat was attributed by the fanatics to the presence of malignants (despite the rigorous purgation) within their camp.

After the victory of Dunbar, southern Scotland was at Cromwell's feet, and he proceeded triumphantly to Edinburgh, Kilsyth, and Glasgow. Great scandal was given when the English soldiers, hateful sectaries, entered the pulpits and preached as freely as if they had been ministers. In Edinburgh, Cromwell himself is said to

have preached in St Giles' Churchyard. "Divers and sundry sermons" were preached, "as well by captains and lieutenants and troopers . . . as by ordinary pastors and English ministers." The warriors entered the pulpit with swords and pistols, and, when the ministers objected to such preachers, Cromwell said, "Be not envious though Eldad and Medad prophesy."

In the High Church at Glasgow the minister, Zachary Boyd, "railed on them all to their very face."¹ From the Book of Daniel he expounded the vision of the ram with two horns, which was overcome and trampled down by a he-goat, demonstrating admirably that Cromwell was the he-goat. One of the English officers asked his master in a whisper if he might "shoot the scoundrel at once," but the wary General replied, "we will manage him in another way." He invited Boyd to supper, and then won him round by the fervour of the devotions in which he spent the evening, and which continued till three in the morning.

It is doubtful if Charles II. really regretted the defeat of the Covenanters at Dunbar. He was having a very dreary time, and his sovereignty was bought at a heavy price. It was discovered that all his friends were "Malignants," and so, except Buckingham and a few others, they were dismissed. The ministers, however, kept him constant company. The Sabbath of the Jew was brightness in comparison with the Sunday of the Covenanted ministers. They reproved him "very sharply if he smiled on these days, and if his looks and gestures

¹ *Baillie*, vol. iii, p. 117,

did not please them ; whilst all their prayers and gestures at which he was compelled to be present were libels and bitter invectives against the actions of his father, the idolatry of his mother, and his own malignity." "The King," says a contemporary, "wrot himself into as grave a deportment as he could. He heard many prayers and sermons, some of a great length. I remember in one fast day there were six sermons preached without intermission. I was there myself, and not a little weary of so tedious a service. The King was not allowed so much as to walk abroad on Sundays : if, at any time, there had been any gaiety at Court, such as dancing or playing at cards, he was severely reprov'd for it."¹

Small wonder if the unfortunate Prince should learn to detest the very name of religion, presented as it was in this most repulsive form. His greatest humiliation had been on the 16th of August, when he signed, under compulsion, a declaration which even he, "light and thoughtless" as he was, read "with horror." In it he was made to declare his desire to be "deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit before God, because of his father's opposition to the work of God, and to the Solemn League and Covenant," and "for the idolatry of his mother." Finally, amid a torrent of prayers and a spell of dismal fasts, he was to aver how desirous he was to give evidence of his "real loathing of his former ways." This "loathing" Charles may have expressed in words, but it is hard to imagine what the young man felt whilst, all but compelled to hypocrisy and untruth, he was going

¹ *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 83,

through this melancholy farce. And yet he, round whom the ministers were thus manœuvring, was only twenty years old, and is described by one of themselves as "of a very meek and equitable disposition, understanding, and judicious enough." There were certain shrewd persons who were never sure of Charles; no signatures of Covenants, and protestations of contrition deceived them; they suspected the very worst, and when they heard that he was to "communicate kneeling," they prepared "ane paper, and by speech showed the sin of so doing, and provocation of God to procure the blasting of all His designs."

After the defeat of Dunbar appear the Remonstrants. They were a number of west country men led by Patrick Gillespie and Colonel Strahan, and were so called from a Remonstrance, sent in October to the Committee of Estates, in which they declared "that the Lord had a controversy with them," because of the Treaty made with the King, who had "given no evidence of changing his ways," and because Malignants had been admitted to official capacities. The troops of the Remonstrants under Strahan were defeated at Hamilton.

The question of Malignants was now a very serious one. So many brave and worthy soldiers tainted by malignancy had been dismissed from the army that Parliament and Kirk debated what was to be done. In December it was decided that, because of urgent necessity, only "Excommunicated, forfeited, notoriously profane flagitious persons," or "obstinate and professed enemies and opposers of the Covenant and cause of God," *were henceforth to be excluded*. The Act of Classes was also

rescinded. Penitent Malignants had, however, to do penance before they could enlist, and the churches were filled with men of all ranks—the Earl of Lauderdale, the Earl of Crawford, and General Middleton were among them, sitting in sackcloth, performing “a mock penitence” before the congregation and their parish ministers, “the almighty dispensers of pardon, mercy, and military commands.” These concessions to Malignants were sacrilegious to extreme men, and they protested against them. The Kirk, therefore, was divided into Resolutioners, who adhered to the resolutions just passed, and who were led by Robert Douglas, a prominent minister, Baillie, and Dickson, and the Protesters, who protested against the resolutions, whose chiefs were Rutherford, Gillespie, and James Guthrie.

The young King was growing sick unto death of his surroundings. He was treated, indeed, with outward respect befitting a sovereign; and the ministers, even when abusing him, did so on bended knees, but he had neither voice in the nation, nor freedom in his actions. In October he broke his bonds, and escaped from Perth, a proceeding known as “The Start.” Soon after “The Start,” preparations began for his Coronation. On the 1st of January 1651, after two days of fasting, one exclusively for “the sins of the King and his father’s house,” Charles II. was crowned at Scone. It was far from a lively ceremonial. The Crown was placed on his head by the “suspected hand” of Argyll, the anointing was omitted, and the preacher, Robert Douglas, in his sermon of prodigious length, said that, “by the blessing

of God, Popery and Prelacy are removed ; the bishops, as limbs of antichrist, are put to the door ; let the anointing of Kings with oil go with them.”¹ It was an inauspicious moment for a coronation. The country south of the Forth was in Cromwell’s hands, the Covenanters were more and more enfeebled by internal divisions, and the twilight of a darker night than Scotland had ever known was approaching.

All events were now tending towards a decisive engagement with Cromwell ; a final fight between the Scottish Presbyterians and the English Sectaries. With bold determination Charles led the northern army into England. Cromwell promptly followed, and, on the 3rd of September 1651, the Royal troops were totally defeated in the Battle of Worcester—a victory which Cromwell called his “Crowning Mercy.” Charles fought bravely till he was forced to flee. Then began those strange and picturesque adventures which are so well known—the shelter under the spreading branches of the patriarchal oak, “his blessed tree,” his kindly reception by his peasant subject, his ride disguised as Mrs Lane’s servant, his eight years’ exile in a foreign land, and, after all, the joyful recall to the throne of his father.

When Cromwell hurried away from Scotland in pursuit of the royal army he left General George Monk behind, in command of 50,000 men. Two days before the Battle of Worcester, Monk took Dundee by storm, and after a siege, Dunbar fell. Ere long, twenty-eight

¹ See *The Form and Order of the King’s Coronation*, printed at Aberdeen, 1651.

fortresses, including Montrose, Aberdeen, St Andrews, Leith, Ayr, Inverness, and Glasgow were erected—even Stirling, looking down on Bannockburn, owned the English conqueror's sway. Scotland was subjugated; and though Dunottar Castle, where, after the Battle of Dunbar, the venerated Regalia had been hidden, made a spirited resistance, and the rising known as Glencairn's Expedition, led by Lord Glencairn and then by General Middleton, proved that there were still many Royalists in the Highlands, yet, to all intents, the country had fallen.

Yes, the land of Wallace and of Bruce had fallen—the land to whose furthest mountains the Roman Eagle had never flown, and which had defied the greatest of the Plantagenets, was in the dust—mad with the delirium, and enervated by the fever of fanaticism. Patriotism, chivalry, honour, all the noblest qualities in the national character were lost, or were vanishing amid the thick mists of the dreariest form of Christianity that ever darkened the minds of men professing the name of Christ.

In August 1651, while the siege of Dundee was proceeding, the Committee of Estates was sitting at Alyth, a small town fifteen miles north of Dundee, when it was surprised by Colonel Aldrick and five hundred horse. The members were captured, and the Earls of Leven and Crawford, the ministers Douglas, and James Sharp, and others were sent prisoners to London.

And now a "strong man armed" ruled the conquered and sorely humbled land. In 1652, Monk and Lambert, with six others, acted as "Commissioners of the Parlia-

ment of the Commonwealth of England, for managing the affairs of England, Scotland, and Ireland."

If there was, indeed, a lull in Scotland during the orderly sway of the Commonwealth, it was the lull of death. The pages which describe that mournful period in Scotland's history are the records of a national humiliation. "As for our State," writes a sorrowing minister, "this is its case: Our Nobilitie well near all are wracked. Dukes Hamilton, the one execute, the other slaine; . . . Huntlie execute, his sonnes all dead bot the youngest . . . Lennox is living as a man buried . . . Douglas and his son . . . of no respect; Argyll, almost drowned with debt, in friendship with the English, but in hatred with the country, . . . Chancellor Loudon lives like ane outlaw . . . Marschell, Rothes, Eglinton, and his three sons, Crawford, Lauderdaill, and others prisoners in England . . . Balmerinloch suddenly dead . . . Warriston much hated by the most . . . all were lulled up in a lethargick fear and despair."¹ The Court of Session was superseded by a Commission of seven judges, four of whom were Englishmen. Free Trade was opened up between Scotland and England, all pointing to preparation for the Union of the nations, and, among the schemes of the Protectorate, was the sweeping away of the whole complex machinery of the Feudal System. Ordinances were passed for the better support of the Universities; and a General Post, "for the speedy conveying, carrying, and recarrying letters by post to and from all places

¹ *Baillie*, vol. iii. p. 249.

within England and Scotland and Ireland," was organized. The Scottish Parliament ceased to meet, and, during the brief period of Cromwell's Parliament in England, Scotland was nominally represented in London by thirty members.

What was the religious and moral condition of the country at this period, after a fair trial of the fruits of the Reformation for nearly a hundred years? The accounts vary. In the glowing words of one writer, Scotland was then "a heap of wheat set about with lilies, uniform, or a palace of silver, beautifully proportioned, and this seems to me to have been Scotland's high noon. The only complaint of profane people was, that the government was so strict they had not liberty to sin."¹ "As for every sort of uncleanness and filthiness," writes another, "they did never more abound in Scotland than at this period. Under heaven there was not greater falsehood, oppression, division, hatred, pride, malice and envy, than was at this time, and divers and sundry years before."² As a matter of fact, in 1653, a solemn fast was held, "because of the contempt of the glorious Gospel of Christ Jesus, and of the growth of sin of all sorts, particularly pride, uncleanness, contempt of ordinances, oppression, violence, fraudulent dealing. Maist part of the people growing worse and worse."³

During this strange interregnum it may be well to pause, and to inquire what was the state of the Catholic Church, of that immutable kingdom where Protesters

¹ *Kirkton*, p. 50.

² *Lamont's Diary*.

³ *Nicoll's Diary*, p. 107.

and Resolutioners were not, and where Remonstrants had not lifted up their voice? While hurricanes and stormy waves raged above, the undercurrent of her quiet waters was flowing steadily on. The year 1653 was a memorable one for the Scottish Mission. In that year, "by a Decree of Propaganda, the Scottish secular clergy, freed from the jurisdiction of the English prelates and Jesuit superiorship, were incorporated into a Body Missionary, under the superintendence of the Reverend William Ballantyne, the first prefect of the Mission." For, indeed, the absence of an Ecclesiastical head had been always severely felt, and the attempts to remedy this matter had not heretofore been successful. In 1623, William Bishop was consecrated in Paris Bishop of Chalcedon *in partibus* and vicar apostolic of England and Scotland. This partial jurisdiction proved objectionable to Scotland, probably owing to the ancient enmity between the two nations, and it was withdrawn by the Holy See. Ballantyne was a "pious and learned man," and brought with him from the Continent "a colony of missionaries of such of his countrymen as he could find, and induce to accompany him." "A scanty pension each was made for ten missionaries of the clergy, and as these were united into a body under a superior, they began to act in concert with a new ardour, to confirm and propagate the Catholic Religion, and, allowing the regulars to follow their usual methods, which were to settle in the cities and families of the nobility and gentry, the clergy missionaries, according to the constant practice of the Church, distributed themselves into different districts for the conversion of the people, and to be in a condition to assist

them, whether in sickness or in health, to know them and instruct them, . . . as also to draw others to the Faith." When the missionaries had fixed abodes, they were able to have regular meetings on Sundays and holy days, and the Protestants began to frequent the instructions and catechisms, "which proved the occasion of the conversion of great numbers of them, especially in the Highlands, and in the North country, on the Estate of the Duke of Gordon, and other Catholic families . . ." In Strathavon and Strathbogie there were many converted, and at Strathavon "more persons and those of better condition assist at the venerable Catholic mysteries than at the profane worship of the heretics . . ." Not only did individuals submit to the "sweet yoke of Christ and of the Catholic Church," but "the truth penetrated into the heretical seats of education . . ." Thus we read in the hopeful "Report of the Superior of the Scottish Mission to the Congregation of Propaganda." The Superior continues:—"The bitter fruits of the Covenant, which was formerly extolled by the ministers up to heaven, are now apparent, to the disgust of all. For a nation which once imposed a limit to the Roman Empire, and preserved itself ever unconquered, and secure from foreign arms, now betrayed by the perfidy of the ministers, and infected by the enormous sin of heresy, experiences by the just judgment of God the hardships of servitude; and this affliction gives understanding to many, and brings them at last to a sound mind."¹

¹ *Report of the Superior of the Scottish Mission to the Congregation of Propaganda, 1650-1660.*

Among the fellow labourers of Father Ballantyne appear two Irishmen, who were sent by St Vincent de Paul. It is interesting to find the great French saint, now an aged man, compassionating this suffering land, and, so early as 1651, two of his missionaries were in the Scottish Mission.

The slanders and calumnies of the ministers helped to extort decrees from Cromwell against Catholics. "At the time," writes a minister, "of so great a defection from the truth to Popery in this realm of Scotland, especially in the northern parts; if it ever was necessary for the servants of God to sound the trumpet (as Ezekiel saith), it is so now."

Despite the soundings of the trumpet, despite the fury, alike of Covenanter and of Sectary, many a happy soul, hearkening to the voice of the Most High, found then the pearl of great price, sold all, and passed from the battle-fields of Resolutioners and Protesters and Remonstrants to the Vision of Peace, to a land flowing with milk and honey, to the lost Eden, to the One True Fold of the Redeemer, and were even then safe in the streets of the City of God, with "*Magnificat anima mea Dominum*" in their hearts and on their lips.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES II.

“ Who comes with rapture greeted and caressed
With frantic love—his kingdom to regain ? ”

—WORDSWORTH.

THE dreary years of the Commonwealth dragged on their way. On December 16th, 1653, Oliver Cromwell was proclaimed in London “ Lord Protector of the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland ”; in May 1654, he was proclaimed in Scotland. In October 1655, “ the greatest pairt of the ministry of Scotland (if not all) left off to pray for the King in their publicke prayers.” In July 1655, a Fast was held for these causes, among others — “ the great contempt of the grace of the Gospel ; the persecution of the Churches abroad . . . ; the increase of Papists and Poperie, especillie in the north pairts of Scotland, many now beginning to practise the same avowedlie ; the great and almost universall abounding of ignorance, swearing, Sabbath - breaking, drunkenesse, uncleannesse, etc.”¹

Meanwhile great events were proceeding in the sister kingdom. Till 1654, war with Holland continued, when

¹ Lamont's *Diary*, 1649-1671, p. 93.

peace with honour was concluded. Continental Protestants looked to Cromwell as their own Protector; he humbled Spain, which yielded up to England the island of Jamaica, and France conceded the town of Dunkirk.¹

In 1657, Cromwell was offered the title of King by the House of Commons, but this he declined, for well he knew that he could govern as a General, not as a King, with the sword, but not with the sceptre. If tidings from the south came slowly across the Borders, they came surely; but the herald of British conquest and aggrandizement was not received with so warm a welcome by many thousands as he who, in September, 1658, brought the intelligence that on the 3rd of the month Oliver Cromwell had died. Then came accounts of his burial, with great pomp, close by the tombs of the kings of England in Westminster Abbey, and that his son Richard was proclaimed Protector. The English Roundheads broke out in thanksgiving. "Their sun was set, but no night had followed . . . The late Protector had been a Moses to lead God's people out of the land of Egypt: his son would be a Joshua to conduct them into a more full possession of truth and righteousness. Elijah had been taken into heaven: Elisha remained on earth, the inheritor of his mantle and his spirit!" In very different strains the minister of Edinburgh prayed "that the Lord would be merciful to the exiled, and those that were in captivity, and cause them to return with sheaves of joy: that He would deliver all His people from the yoke of Pharaoh and taskmasters of Egypt, and that He

¹ Dunkirk was regained by France in 1662.

would cast off their oppressors and hasten the time of their deliverance."

Their deliverance was nearer than they anticipated. On January 27th, 1659, Parliament met in England, and on April the 22nd the Protectorate was abolished, while Richard Cromwell, "peaceable and sluggish," disappeared from the scene. On May 7th, the remnant of the Long Parliament met again, and soon a Royalist Insurrection broke out, which was suppressed by General Lambert, the leader of the Republican party. Meanwhile General Monk was quietly taking notes of the events in England, and was preparing to play his part of "Victor sine sanguine." He gathered together certain leading Scotsmen, and, deep and inscrutable as he was, he probably revealed to these magnates the plans he was manipulating, for he obtained a grant of money, and on New Year's Day, 1660, he proceeded across the Borders with an army of 6000 men. On March 16th, the Long Parliament finally rose, and on April 25th a Convention assembled at Westminster. All eyes were now turned towards the exiled Monarch. On April 14th, Charles II. issued the Declaration of Breda, "The Royal Charter, on the faith of which he was permitted to ascend the throne of his father,"¹ and in this he promised a general amnesty to all save those whom Parliament should except, "and liberty of conscience to all those whose religious convictions were not likely to disturb the peace of the realm." On May 1st, affectionate letters were received from Charles; and when Monk, seeing the time was ripe,

¹ *Lingard*, vol. xi. p. 186.

proposed to the Convention the Restoration of the King, his words were welcomed with shouts of joy, and the King was indeed ready to return. His widowed mother was at the Palais Royal when she first heard of the imminent Restoration, and she immediately rushed off to her friends, the nuns at Chaillot, with her great and joyful news. To the Convent Charles hastened for a flying visit *incognito* to his mother. They dined together, and in the evening Henrietta Maria assisted at a solemn service to call down the blessing of Heaven on her family.

Charles set sail from Scheveling in Holland, and he landed at Dover on the 26th of May, and was received by General Monk, now rewarded by the Dukedom of Albemarle, the Order of the Garter, and the Command of the Army. On the 29th, amid his people, flinging themselves in the dust for joy, his Majesty entered London.

Happy, too, were the Scots. The old days seemed returning, the days of proud independence were renewed with the restoration of the King, who had the blood of Bruce in his veins. Farewell to the thralldom of the Protectorate; farewell to the horrors, and squalors, and gloom, to the nightmare of the Covenant; farewell to continual fastings, and humiliations, to sackcloth and ashes; farewell to the tyranny of the Covenanters, said many a one in his heart of hearts, and gladly these saw the Covenant burnt by the hangman in the Courtyard of Holyrood House.

Even the stern Presbyterian historian rejoiced in his country's deliverance from the yoke of the stranger, and would fain believe that the swans in Linlithgow Loch,

which fled from the dominion of Cromwell, had now returned with the King, and that a thistle was springing up on the citadel of Perth, choking the arms of the detestable Commonwealth,¹ whilst to the waters of the Tay, the cherry of the Tay, a loyal whiting, which had been absent for ten years, came back again.

On the 19th of June, the dignitaries of the Town Council proceeded first to the Kirk, all in their best robes, and then, with a throng of citizens, enjoyed a liberal banquet at the Cross of Edinburgh, breaking three hundred dozen glasses as they drank cheerfully to the health of the King and the Duke of York. The bells crashed with joy, bonfires blazed in the streets, Bacchus was suitably established upon "ane puncheon of wine," the spouts at the Cross ran with claret, whilst, to complete all, "the effigie of Oliver Cromwell being set upon a pole and the devil upon another upon the Castle Hill, it was ordained by firework, engine, and train, that the devil did chase that traitor till he blew him in the air."²

There was not much sleep for the citizens that night, for the revellers still hung about the streets, and fireworks were still cracking and flying from the Castle battlements when the lingering summer twilight met the early summer dawn.

This was a shocking state of matters, which the Kirk was not likely to tolerate long. "Lord!" said one in his family prayers, "the whole country is rejoicing at this man's being brought home, but Thou knowest how

¹ *Wodrow*, vol. i. p. 242.

² *Nicoll's Diary*.

soon for all this he may welter in the best blood of Scotland.”¹ “We were going very fast back to Babylon,” writes another. Clouds were indeed thickening in the Covenanting skies. Taking time by the forelock, soon after Monk’s departure in 1659, the Resolutioners had despatched James Sharp, the minister of Crail, as their envoy to London, to represent the cause of moderate Presbyterianism. From London, Sharp proceeded to Breda, and had several interviews with the King.

Charles II. was scarcely restored when Scottish lords and lairds began to hurry off to London. There they found Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, standing as Chancellor at the King’s right hand. The Parliament or Convention which had restored Charles had been dissolved, and now the Cavalier Parliament, irrational with excess of loyalty, was sitting, while with the Monarchy returned the Anglican Church and her Book of Common Prayer.

In Scotland the offices of State were soon filled. The Earl of Glencairn became Chancellor; Major Middleton, afterwards Earl of Middleton, his Majesty’s Commissioner in Parliament; the Earl of Crawford was Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of Lauderdale was Secretary of State. The government was entrusted to the Committee of Estates, now reassembled, which had been dispersed at Alyth in 1651.

Certainly the aspect of affairs, both at home and in England, created considerable uneasiness among the Protesters. A “warm paper” was accordingly drawn

¹ *Analecta*, Rev. R. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 140.

up to remind his Majesty of his Covenanted obligations. Regret was expressed that he had set up the Book of Common Prayer and the order of Bishops in his chapel, and he was entreated "to banish Popery, Prelacy, and Sectarianism," while the writers of the paper prayed that his reign "might be like that of David, Solomon, Jehosaphat, and Hezekiah."

In 1660, Henry, Duke of Gloucester, died, and in the same year James, Duke of York, married Anne, the daughter of Chancellor Hyde. The marriage of the King to Donna Catharina, infanta of Portugal, sister of Alphonsus, King of Portugal, generally known as Catherine of Braganza, a devout Catholic, did not conduce to the peace of mind of either Anglicans, Resolutions, or Protesters.

In August 1660, Sharp returned from his missions, bearing a letter from the King. In this letter, which was dated the 10th of August, and addressed "to our trusty and well-beloved Mr Robert Douglas, Minister of the Gospel in our city of Edinburgh, to be communicated to the Presbytery of Edinburgh," his Majesty promised "to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland as it is settled by law without variation." The ministers of Edinburgh were delighted, and in their exuberant security bought for the letter a silver box, "a shrine for such a precious relict."¹

On the last day of 1660, Lord Middleton arrived in Edinburgh as Royal Commissioner, and, on the first day of 1661, Parliament met.

¹ *Kirkton*, p. 75.

The Regalia was searched for and found under the flags of the Kirk of Kinneff, where it had been hidden by a loyal minister and his wife, and there was a stately "Riding," as in the good old days. However, there was a shadow hanging over the superstitious, for, on the 18th of the previous month, the national records, which Cromwell had carried off to London, and which were on their way home by sea, had perished in a shipwreck, "eighty-five hogsheads of papers and many original records were lost . . . an unlucky thing, not to say omen, to Scotland."¹ The Acts of this Parliament were very important. The famous Act Rescissory, which annulled the Parliamentary legislation of the last twenty years, was passed, the laws in favour of Episcopacy were renewed, and it was ordained that the 29th of May was annually to be observed as a high holiday in gratitude for the Restoration. Fasts, especially on the Lord's Day, were very congenial to the Covenanters, but festivals of all kinds were abominations—"as if man could sanctify and set apart to the Lord any part of time, in any revolution of weeks, months, or years," but "profanely offering and presuming to give thanks to the Lord, for the cause of all our sin and shame" was not to be borne. In the Act Rescissory his Majesty declared his intention was "to settle the government of the Church in such a frame as should be most agreeable to the word of God, most suitable to the monarchical government, and most complying with the public peace and quiet of the kingdom"; and in the meantime allowed

¹ *Wodrow*, vol. i. p. 86.

the present administration by sessions, presbyteries, and synods. Whatever the King declared, and whatever he meant, the effects of the Act Rescissory was to abolish Presbyterianism and to set up Episcopacy. Much obloquy has been cast on the intentional or unintentional trickery of Charles II. in following up his letter, now safe in its silver shrine, of the 10th of August 1660, to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, by the performances of this Parliament; and those who had figured as godly Covenanting chiefs, who had sworn eternal fidelity to the Covenant, with weeping eyes and uplifted hands, and who now abandoned Covenant and Kirk for the most worldly motives, have received a due share of reprobation. Those who thus blame them have not realized that when the day of temptation came the poor Covenant was but a broken reed for human nature to lean upon. The alleged condition of the Parliament, a state of general intoxication (indeed, it was known as "Middleton's Drinking Parliament"), caused great scandal to those who objected less to drunken legislators than to the laws they enacted. On 11th of May, the scattered remains of the Marquis of Montrose were solemnly reinterred in St Giles' Cathedral.

On the 5th of September, a letter was laid before the Privy Council, declaring the royal will in regard to the ecclesiastical doom of Scotland. It was the abolition of Presbyterianism and the establishment of Episcopacy.

This was a sad day for the children of the Covenant. But their sorrows had begun with the punishment of a few carefully selected victims from among their leaders. The trial of Archibald Campbell, the Marquis of Argyll,

chief among Covenanters, opened on the 15th of May 1661, and on the 25th of May he was condemned to death as a traitor. Kneeling before the bar, he said: "I had the honour to set the crown upon the King's head, and now he hastens me away to a better crown than his own." He was naturally timorous, and tales, not a few, are told of his cowardice or timidity on the battle-field, but, on the 27th of May, he met the King of Terrors heroically. "Grip sicker," said the Edinburgh minister who assisted him, as though he feared a break-down when Argyll came face to face with the terrible "Maiden." "I could die like a Roman," said the doomed man, "but choose rather to die like a Christian."

James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, author of a seditious book called *The Causes of God's Wrath*, and a certain Govan, also suffered at this time. Guthrie, who was executed on the 1st of June, was a vigorous and intolerant Protester, and, even if guilty of the treason he was accused of, he no doubt also suffered "for asserting the kingly prerogative of Jesus Christ." "The Covenants, the Covenants shall yet be Scotland's reviving," were his dying words.

Sir Archibald Johnston was condemned, but, having fled the country, he was not executed till his return in 1663.

Old Samuel Rutherford lay a-dying, but he was not passed over. Parliament honoured him by ordering his book *Lex Rex* to be burnt by the hangman, and summoned him to their tribunal. "Tell them," said the dying Covenanter, "I have to appear before a Superior

Judge and Judicatory ; and, ere yon day arrive, will be where few kings and great folks come." Others were punished in various ways, but for the present executions ceased.

No time was lost in settling the new Church, whose origin was destined to be essentially English. Sydsenf, Bishop of Galloway, alone remained of the old race of bishops, that is, of those dating from 1610.¹ It was therefore necessary to begin afresh. The new ones chosen to start with were James Sharp for St Andrews, Andrew Fairfoul, James Hamilton, and Robert Leighton, respectively for Glasgow, Galloway, and Dunblane.

Vials of wrath have been poured out on Sharp's head for accepting the Archbishopric. He was a traitor, he was "Judas Sharp." No name was too bad for him ; and when he told Robert Douglas that the King intended him for the Primatial See, the minister exclaimed, "Take it and the curse of God with it." Probably the good man was really never very zealous either for Episcopacy or Presbyterianism, but indifferent to both. A mere change in ecclesiastical government, unaccompanied by any change of doctrine, was not necessarily an injury to his conscience, and it would have seemed weak and over scrupulous to refuse the comfortable and exalted position of an Archbishop of St Andrews for a mere quibble, especially when his elevation was so acceptable to his sovereign.

Sydsenf was translated from the See of Galloway to

¹ Archbishop Spottiswood died in 1639, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

that of Orkney, and, as "Episcopal Ordination" was "a flower not to be found in a Scottish gardine,"¹ the prelates nominate set off to London for their consecration. Fairfoul and Hamilton had been ordained by Scottish bishops, but Sharp and Leighton, who were in Presbyterian orders, submitted (albeit apparently indifferent on the matter) to Anglican ordination as deacons and priests, and, after these rites, all four were consecrated in Westminster Abbey on December 15th, 1661. Leighton was pious, and separated from the world, and as the apostle of toleration he has long enjoyed the reputation of being at once a Presbyterian and an Episcopalian saint. Indeed, the gleams of light, whose centre was the City of God, and of which the poor Covenanter had never even dreamed, had been vouchsafed to him, and their origin may be traced to his residence at one time in Douai and to his association with good Catholics there. He loved Thomas à Kempis, he loved St Francis de Sales, and when he accepted the See of Dunblane it was as "a greater mortification than a cell and haircloth." He was probably the best specimen that the system he belonged to was capable of producing. His fellow prelates certainly exhibited no outward evidences of spirituality, and the unworldly character of the Bishop of Dunblane occasionally appears in strong contrast to theirs.

A merry feast, most disquieting to the serious-minded Leighton, succeeded the consecration. The new-made bishops did not hurry home. Though the English Ecclesiastical affairs were very different from those of

¹ *Kirkton*, p. 137.

Scotland, there was much at this time to interest and instruct. The Church of England was settling down after the Savoy Conference, and many discussions were proceeding on the revision of the English Prayer Book, which were to culminate on May 19th, 1662, when the Act of Uniformity, obliging all incumbents to use the amended book, received the royal assent. Before this time, in March, the Scottish bishops departed for Scotland. They all made the dreary journey of eight or ten days in the Archbishop of St Andrews' fine new coach, travelling together as far as Morpeth. Here Leighton left them to pursue their own way, and to make, as they designed, a triumphal entry into Edinburgh. He said he believed "they were weary of him, for he was very weary of them." He was a man in earnest, and must have felt keenly the degradation of his position, as a chief officer in the new Episcopal Church of Scotland, which was "the child of the regal supremacy, one of the first fruits of absolute and arbitrary power, and the mere effect of royal pleasure,"¹ in fact, neither more nor less than a gigantic piece of statecraft. Leighton and his brother bishops were servants in thralldom to the State, and were journeying to their native land where no welcome awaited them, save from those who preferred the throne to the pulpit, and where the very name of their office was detested by many. Sharp arrived in St Andrews with a noble escort. "On the Sabbath after, he preached in the Town Church in the forenoon, and a velvet cushion in the pulpit before him; his text, 'For

¹ *Wodrow*, vol. i. p. 223.

I determined to know nothing among you but Jesus Christ and Him Crucified.' His sermon did not run much on the words, but in a discourse of vindicating himself, and of pressing of Episcopacy, and the utility of it, showing that since it was wanting, there hath been nothing but troubles and disturbances both in Church and State." Alas! this style of discourse was too characteristic of the spirit that animated the Erastians. Very different was Leighton, who is said to have been blamed for not preaching to the times. "Who," he asked, "does preach to the times?" Being told that all did, "Then," he replied, "if all of you preach to the times, you may surely allow one poor brother to preach Christ Jesus and eternity."

The bishops, who were now fairly established at home, set about filling the still vacant sees. On May 7th, 1662, in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, six ministers were consecrated to the sees of Dunkeld, Moray, Ross, Caithness, Brechin, and the Isles. At St Andrews, on June 1st, Dr Wishart, the chaplain and biographer of the Marquis of Montrose, was consecrated for the see of Edinburgh.

On December 12th, 1661, the "Privy Council forbade presentations to benefices to be addressed to presbyteries,"¹ and on January 2nd, 1662, his Majesty commanded that the jurisdiction in the synods, presbyteries, and sessions should be by the appointment and authority of the archbishops and bishops. On the 8th of May Parliament met, and on the 27th of May an

¹ See *Grub*, vol. iii. p. 199.

Act was passed for "the restitution and re-establishment of the ancient government of the Church by archbishops and bishops." The bishops were admitted to their seats in Parliament and to all those privileges which they enjoyed previous to 1638. All in public offices were to abjure the Covenant as "unlawful and seditious." In 1649, Parliament had abolished patronage, and the ministers ordained from 1649 to 1660 were then elected by the Kirk Session. All these ministers were now declared incapable of holding their livings, unless they first sought institution from their bishops. This was the prelude to a long and sorrowful period for the Covenanters. Nearly three hundred ministers left their homes, and one hundred others followed, true to their cherished principles. Many of the ministers who went out were much respected men, and their places were now given to strangers, generally known as "The Curates," young men who were frequently more or less incompetent. The sufferings of the Covenanters, which now began in earnest, and lasted for twenty-eight years, have been often described by very different pens. They have figured as "Scotland's glorious army of Covenanted martyrs," and as a lawless, self-willed, stiff-necked horde of seditious fanatics. We should have attained the truth more readily had writers, whether Episcopalian or Presbyterian, expressed themselves more calmly, more charitably, and, in some instances at least, if they had paid a stricter regard to truth. The Covenanters suffered long and grievously, but, in the day of their brief power, they had been the first to make others suffer, and to act, not only with bloody cruelty, but with the meanest treachery; therefore, although their conduct

forms no excuse for that of their enemy, we cannot extend to them the commiseration they would have called forth had they exhibited meekness, pity, and humility. They have very inadequately described themselves as "We, a poor company of persecuted, reproached and despised Christians . . . a few foolish, weak, base and despised nothings in the world," and as unfairly have abused those who disagreed with them as "a pestilential generation of . . . Atheistical, Papistical, Prelatical and tyrannical enemies . . . lions, bears, wolves."

The period we are now entering upon has been called "the killing time," but there had been a previous killing time, when "the wark had gone bonnillie on." The fierce vituperation, and wholesale condemnation of partisan writers excite compassion more for the writers than for the causes they defend. The history of this period is very sad reading. Heedless of the lessons of the past, forgetful of the utter failure of his father to force on Scotland a form of ecclesiastical government which was repugnant to a great part of the nation, forgetful that that nation had defied even its sovereign to dictate to it in matters of religion, Charles II. was blindly proceeding to repeat the disastrous policy of Charles I.

For twenty-eight years there is a weary record of Erastianism on the one hand and sedition on the other, of severities ever increasing on the part of the Government, met by counterblasts of defiance, or by armed rebellion. In the Earls of Middleton, Rothes, and Lauderdale, especially in the last-named, Charles found obedient servants of his royal will. In General Sir Thomas Dalziel and in General Sir James Turner he had

secured experienced and stern soldiers as suitable agents in what has been called the systematic attempt to torture the people into Episcopacy, and the able lawyer, Sir George Mackenzie, was ready to afford him his services at the bar.

In 1663 the Earl of Middleton was succeeded as Commissioner by the Earl of Rothes, but the Earl of Lauderdale, as Secretary of State for Scotland, was the actual ruler of the country. In 1664, a Court of High Commission was erected, but as its arbitrary proceedings were intolerable, in little more than a year it was abolished. And now the laws to enforce conformity were enacted with great severity. The ministers who had voluntarily left their churches rather than submit to Episcopacy preached in the fields, and their followers, who loathed the curates, attended these out-of-door ministrations in great numbers. How dangerous these field-meetings became to the State, and how fascinating they proved to individuals, will afterwards appear. With a number of troops, and with ample authority to levy severe fines for nonconformity, General Turner was sent into Dumfriesshire, Galloway, and Ayrshire. In November 1666, at Dalry in Galloway, the people, goaded well-nigh to madness, commenced active resistance to the soldiers, and at Dumfries Turner was taken prisoner and nearly lost his life. On the 28th of November, about 900 half-armed peasants were routed by Dalziel, at Rullion Green, in the battle of the Pentlands. Wild ministers led these rough but resolute troops, and during the fight a minister "prayed with uplifted hands to the Lord of Hosts against Amalek (as his spirit moved

him" to call the King), and had his hands stayed up by some of his brethren as Moses had his by Aaron and Hur. As for the victory of Dalziel, it was easily accounted for. Was not a bullet, seen to drop from his breast on his boot, sure evidence that he was in covenant with the devil? Nearly fifty of the Covenanters fell, and the 100 captured were marched off to Edinburgh and locked up, either in the Tolbooth or in Haddo's Hole, the Thieves' Hole, the most loathsome part of the common gaol of Edinburgh. Wishart, Bishop of Edinburgh, who had once been imprisoned by the Covenanters in the Tolbooth and knew its miseries—for there he had been nearly devoured by rats—used to daily send the poor men food from his own table. Eighteen of the prisoners were executed in Edinburgh and thirty-five in the country. Among the former were John Neilson, Laird of Corsack; and Hugh M'Kaill, a minister only twenty-five years old. These two were fearfully tortured to extort confession, by the favourite instrument of torture at this time in Scotland—the boot. The young minister brought his fate upon himself by saying in a sermon in the High Kirk of Edinburgh that "the Church and people of God had been persecuted both by an Ahab on the throne, a Haman in the State, and a Judas in the Church." He died rapturously, exclaiming: "Farewell, sun, moon, and stars; farewell, kindred and friends; farewell, world and time; farewell, weak and frail body: welcome eternity, welcome angels and saints, welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God the Judge of all."¹

¹ *Cloud of Witnesses*, p. 105; *Scots Worthies*, p. 290.

Bishop Wishart and other ministers tried hard for mercy to the condemned, but the Archbishops were said, though the evidence is quite inconclusive, to have been inexorable, and the dark story went forth that one or other of them had kept back until it was too late, a letter from the King which would have reprieved M'Kaill.

In 1665-6, when the Great Plague was raging in London, the Privy Council forbade any to come from the south without testimonials of health. Scotland escaped the Plague, though a few were visited by it, for we are told that "a globe of fire was seen above that part of the city where the Solemn League and Covenant was burnt so ignominiously by the hands of the hangman. Whatever was in this, it seems certain that the Plague broke out there; and it was observed to rage mostly in that street where that open affront had been put upon the Oath of God, and very few were left alive there."¹

In 1669, Government passed an Indulgence whereby the ejected ministers were permitted to return to their parishes, "if willing to take collation, and to attend presbyteries and synods." About forty ministers accepted the Indulgence, but it was rejected by both the prelatie party and the Protesters. "The former said it set aside the Canonical authority of the Episcopate." The latter, when they found that the complying ministers dwelt on the doctrines of Christianity instead of preaching to the times,² declared that the

¹ *Wodrow*, vol. i. p. 290.

² See *Grub*, vol. iii. p. 231.

Indulgence had been "hatched in hell, for to ruin the Kirk of God."

On the 10th of November 1669 the Assertery Act was passed. By this Act the King was proclaimed absolutely "supreme over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical"; and it has been said, it made him "both King and Pope."¹

Self-will and lawlessness, combined with honest resistance to abject Erastianism, still continued dear to the Covenanters. Their field meetings became more frequent, more perilous and exciting than ever. Government determined to put these assemblies down by force, and, as many of the worshippers, or rather the hearers, attended in arms, it was high time. In July, Parliament passed rigorous decrees. The preachers at a Conventicle were liable to be punished by death and the hearers to heavy fines. Utterly ruinous fines were laid on right and left, and the Bass Rock was turned into a state prison for nonconforming offenders. To die on that bleak and desolate rock, whose prison walls were the waves of the North Sea, was called glorifying God in the islands.

Lauderdale was created a duke in 1672, and by his marriage to the Countess of Dysart, a clever woman of "inordinate ambition, boundless extravagance, and unscrupulous rapacity," he had found a suitable help-meet for his cruel and ruthless administration.

The events which occurred in England about this time were of great importance. Those which affected members of the royal family who were possibly one day to rule

¹ *Cunningham*, vol. ii. p. 205.

over Great Britain were rejoiced in or mourned over by the northern nation. In 1673 the Test Act was passed in England, requiring all civil and military officers to subscribe a declaration against Transubstantiation and to receive the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England. Charles II. had no legitimate children, and this Act was aimed at his successor, James, Duke of York, an avowed Catholic, who immediately resigned his office of Lord Admiral, which he had filled so successfully, and many other Catholics in official positions followed his example. His first wife, Anne Hyde, who had received the grace to become a Catholic, died in 1671. Two only of her children lived to maturity, Mary and Anne, future Queens of Great Britain. On September 30th, 1673, the Duke of York, now in his fortieth year, was married at Modena by proxy to his second wife, Maria Beatrice Eleanora of Modena, daughter of Alphonso d'Este, Duke of Modena, and Laura Martinozzi de Fano, a noble Roman lady. On November 21st, his little bride of fifteen years was met by the Duke at Dover, and there the marriage was confirmed by the Bishop of Oxford. But a far more popular union than this, inasmuch as bride and bridegroom were Protestants, was solemnised on November 4th, 1677, when Mary, the heiress presumptive of the throne, was wedded at St James' to her first cousin, William Henry, Prince of Orange, son of William II., Stadtholder of Orange, and Mary, daughter of Charles I. Meanwhile the weary strife in Scotland was raging on, and amongst one of the devices for coercing the Presbyterians to become Episcopalians, the Highland Host, a troop of 10,000 soldiers, 6000 of whom

were Highlanders, was let loose upon the former with full licence to pillage and ravage.

During this miserable period, Dr Leighton did his best to unite the belligerents, but all in vain. About 1669, Alexander Burnet quarrelled with Lauderdale, and Leighton, though retaining Dunblane, became Archbishop of Glasgow. In 1672 he resigned Dunblane, and in 1674 resigned Glasgow, and ere long retired to England. He exhibited traits of character so new, so strangely different from the manifestations around him, that men seemed bewildered by his uncommon holiness, though few would have recognised that its source lay in the study of works of Catholic devotion, and probably the influence of his early years at Douai had never passed away. He declared he would like to die in an inn, and this singular wish was gratified, for he breathed his last at the Old Bell Inn of Warwick Lane, in London.

The unpopularity of the primate, who was credited with steadily encouraging the cruel persecutions, had increased of late. On July 11th, 1668, just after he had entered his coach at the head of Blackfriars Wynd, in Edinburgh, he was fired at by James Mitchel, a fanatical preacher. The poisoned bullet missed his grace, but so severely wounded in the arm Andrew Honyman, Bishop of Orkney, who was in the coach, that he is said never to have recovered from the wound. Mitchel escaped then, but was caught in 1674, and after dreadful tortures to extort confession, and imprisonment on the Bass Rock, he was hanged in the Grassmarket in January 1678. "Let him go and glorify God in the Grass-

market," was the brutal jest of the Duke of Lauderdale. The poor wild fanatic vindicated his conduct because "the seducer or enticer to a false worship is to be put to death," and pleaded the examples of Phinehas and Elijah. He figures in the gloomy calendar of the Covenant as "the zealous and faithful Mr James Mitchel, who beyond all doubt was a most pious man." His execution was urged on by Sharp, and soon the days of that prelate were numbered. On Friday, March 2nd, 1679, he left Edinburgh in his coach for St Andrews, intending to return on Monday, preparatory to a journey to London. He slept at Kennoway, and next morning, with his daughter Isobel, proceeded on his way. On that March morning a company of armed men, headed by David Hackston of Rathillet and Balfour of Kinloch, were hovering about on Magus Moor, near St Andrews, intending to slay one Carmichael who had been levying the Nonconformist tax. They missed their prey, but descrying the archiepiscopal coach on the highway, one of the men said: "It seems that the Lord hath delivered him into our hands." Accordingly they dragged the primate from his coach, and ferociously despatched him with swords in presence of his daughter. Far from fleeing after the bloody deed, the assassins "retired to a neighbouring cottage, where they devoted themselves to prayer, . . . and one of them said he heard a voice from Heaven saying, 'Well done, good and faithful servant.'" The extreme Covenanters gloried in the murder, and on the 29th of May a party of them proceeded to Rutherglen, extinguished the fires of joy blazing to commemorate the Restoration, and affixed to the Market Cross a Declaration

denouncing the Acts whereby Presbyterianism had been destroyed and Prelacy restored. To punish this defiance, John Graham of Claverhouse was sent down with a troop of dragoons. On Sunday, June 1st, a great field-meeting was held near Loudon Hill. The usual precaution of coming in arms had been taken, and when, in the midst of prayers and harangues, Claverhouse appeared, he was met by a multitude armed with scythes, pitchforks, and pikes, and was defeated in the swamp of Drumclog. This was the first time Claverhouse and the Covenanters met face to face, and it was the only battle ever lost by the former. Meanwhile, flying packets, the telegraph wires of the period, had brought news of all this to London, and the King, taking serious alarm, despatched his illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth (called in Scotland the Duke of Buccleuch, from his marriage to the heiress of that house) with several regiments. On Sunday, June 22nd, the Covenanters, who had spent the interval between this and their last encounter in polemical wrangling, were totally defeated by Monmouth at Bothwell Bridge. Then followed sharp punishment. Many were cut down in their flight, but these were happy compared to the prisoners who were marched to Edinburgh, and herded like wild beasts in the Greyfriars Kirkyard. Here, for four or five months, the poor creatures were locked up, exposed to the climate of Edinburgh. Two hundred and fifty prisoners were shipped from Leith to be sold as slaves for Barbadoes, but mercifully their vessel foundered off the Orkneys, and 200 were drowned. Two ministers—John Kid and John King—were hanged in Edinburgh, and five

men, who "refused all compromise," were hanged on Magus Moor, in vengeance for the murder of the archbishop. As the measures of the Government became more severe, so did the fanaticism of the Covenanters increase. In vain indulgences were offered and an Act of Indemnity was passed. Within the narrow sect of the Covenanters sprang up one yet narrower, fiercer, more intolerant, whose members stood apart and refused all intercourse with moderate men. Foremost among them appear Hackston of Rathillet, Henry Hall of Haughhead, Richard Cameron, and Donald Cargill. On the 3rd of June 1680, Hall was killed, and on his person was found a seditious paper called the Queensferry Declaration. On the 22nd of June, Cameron and Cargill, with twenty-one men, breathing forth fury and sedition, marched to the market-place of Sanquhar and violently defied and denounced the Government. The leaders were outlawed, a fate after their own hearts. At Airs Moss there was a fight, and Cameron was slain. "Lord, spare the green and take the ripe," were nearly the poor dying fanatic's last words. Hackston was caught and executed, and then Donald Cargill stood alone to thunder out his anathema at Torwood, where he delivered the King, the Duke of York, and sundry others to the devil—alone to curse one who mocked him, and who soon after, as Cargill had predicted, died speechless, and alone to be hanged in Edinburgh on July 27th, 1681. There was no limit to the defiance of the Cameronians, who, on the scaffold, as the drums were beating to drown their voices, were wildly crying: "O Lord, what wilt Thou do with this generation, what wilt Thou

do with bloody Charles Stuart?" "I leave my blood upon that wretch and bloody tyrant the Duke of York"; while another dies cursing right and left: "O ye atheists and ungodly magistrates, full of perjury and bloodshed."

In January 1681 Isobel Alison and Marion Harvey, two women of "Cameron's faction," who would not acknowledge the King as their lawful sovereign, but called him "a perjured, bloody man," were executed. In February 1682 a specimen of the Covenanting religion run mad appeared in the "Sweet Singers of Borrowstounness." Led by John Gibb, these fanatics sat on the Pentland Hills "to see the smoke and ruin of the sinful, bloody city of Edinburgh," and made the streets hideous by howling psalms, intermingled with curses. These people, of whom respectable Covenanters were ashamed, were brought to their senses by a judicious course of imprisonment and scourging. In 1683 occurred the Rye House Plot. Involved in this conspiracy for the overthrow of the Scottish Government were Monmouth, Argyll, Baillie of Jerviswood, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock, while the Reverend William Carstares and a Mr Spence were suspected and fearfully tortured, and Baillie was executed.

On February 6th, 1685, King Charles II. died at Whitehall, in his fifty-fourth year. He had put off and put off repentance and confession, and had run a fearful risk of losing eternal life. At the eleventh hour he was reconciled to the Church on his death-bed by the Benedictine Father, John Hudleston, and, after receiving the last sacraments, he went to his account.

His long-suffering wife, Catharine of Braganza, survived him fifteen years. She returned to her native Portugal, and during the sickness of her brother, Don Pedro, she acted most successfully as Queen Regent of Portugal. She died on August 31st, 1705.

As we review the sad reign of Charles II. well may we ask, were there no records in these days save of hangings, torturings, mutilations, transportations, and general strife? For those who lived apart from that strife existence must often have been sufficiently dreary. Under the blighting influence of the Covenant, literature, music, art, commerce, could barely exist, much less flourish. Rarely the citizens of Edinburgh, or the dwellers in lonely country towns or in narrow baronial keeps, looked out for new books from the Scottish press. It is true that books may have found their way from London; there was the wild literature of the Covenant for those who appreciated it; and if there was no Drummond to write *Hymns of Sion* in "classic Hawthornden" now, occasionally a rude versifier would appear. In 1661 Sir George Mackenzie, the great lawyer, published *Aretino*, the first novel written in Scotland, and in the same year, on January 8th, appeared the first Scottish original newspaper, *Mercurius Caledonius*.

At length, in the autumn of 1679, came good news. The Duke of York, or of Albany, as he was called in Scotland, and his Italian Duchess were expected in Edinburgh. Whilst the Exclusion Bill, which was brought forward to deprive him of his succession to the throne because he was a Catholic, and which was thrown out by the Lords, was before Parliament, it was expedient that he should leave

England, and he was appointed as Royal Commissioner in succession to Lauderdale.

Preparations were begun at once by a loyal city for royal guests, and the court of old Holyrood, so long deserted, was swept and garnished. In December 1679, and in January 1680, the Duke and Duchess resided at Holyrood, and so successful was their visit, so greatly had the trades of Edinburgh profited by the presence of the court, that the prospect of their return in October 1680 was thankfully hailed. From October 1680 till May 1682, Holyrood was their home. Winter in Edinburgh was a trying experience to an Italian, but Maria Beatrice was only twenty-three, and she was determined to make the most of everything, and to appreciate the hearty welcome, which, despite her unpopular religion, she had received. If there were grey skies and bitter east winds without, there were comfortable rooms, replete with grace and elegance, within, and but for the sad fact that she had been obliged to leave her one surviving babe, the four years old Isabella, in England, and that news of the little one's death came in March 1681, the young Duchess of Albany may often in time to come have looked back from the dreary splendours of her exile at St Germain's to Holyrood. Edinburgh rejoiced, too, when lights again shone from the windows of her ancient palace, and never since the days of Mary Stuart had it witnessed such scenes of mirth and hospitality. On July 17th, 1681, the Duke's daughter, the Lady Anne, the future Queen, joined her father and stepmother. Then we are told that "the Princesses were easy and affable. . . . Tea, for the first time heard of in Scotland, was given as a

treat to Scottish ladies who visited at the abbey. Balls, plays, and masquerades were introduced . . . and the Lady Anne and other young ladies represented ancient heathen mythological characters.”¹ These performances, and the presence of the Duke’s theatrical company in the Canongate, gave great scandal to many. Yet the Duke did his utmost to please and to ingratiate. He not only maintained a decorous and a brilliant court, and played golf on the Links of Leith, but he proved himself a practical man, and through his instrumentality an Act was passed for the encouragement of trade and manufactures. When on Christmas Day the College students so far forgot themselves as to burn the Pope in effigy under the palace windows, the Duke passed over the escapade in silence.

Parliament met in Edinburgh in July 1681. On the 31st of August the Test Act, by which all persons in official capacities were ordained to swear that they “sincerely professed the true Protestant religion contained in the Confession of Faith ratified by James VI., and that the King was supreme in all causes, ecclesiastical and civil,” was passed. The King’s brothers and sons were exempted from the penalties imposed on those who held office without taking the oath. Nearly eighty ministers who could not conscientiously take the Test left their parishes. As the Earl of Argyll, son of the Marquis who had been executed, would only take the Test conditionally, he was accused of high treason, and fled the country. After this Parliament the Duke of Albany must have

¹ *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. i.

been at rest, as an Act was passed which declared his rights, as "the heir of the Crown nearest in blood, to be immutable, and that neither difference in religion nor any future Act of Parliament could alter or divert the said right of succession and lineal descent of the Crown from the nearest heir." ¹

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. viii.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHILDREN OF THE COVENANT AND THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF THE RESTORATION.

“I will a round unvarnished tale deliver.”—*Othello*.

IN order to endeavour to understand the conduct of the actors on either side during the years which elapsed from the Restoration in 1660 until the Revolution in 1688, and the subsequent attitude of the two great Protestant institutions of the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches, it is necessary to retrace our steps for some years. It may be said that the study of these dead and gone contentions is a dreary and a useless one, and of no interest to Scottish Catholics, but every battlefield has its own sad lesson, and every drama wherein compatriots have played a part is interesting, while Catholics who, as such, had, apparently at least, no part in the ecclesiastical or political life of the nation, may contemplate the strange and often tragic scenes as dispassionate spectators. We return, therefore, to the year 1653.

“On the 20th of July last, when the Generall Assemblie was set in the ordinarie time and place, Lieutenant - Colonel Cotterall beset the church with some rattes of musquetiers and a troop of horse; him-

self (after our fast, wherein Mr Dickson and Mr Douglas had two gracious sermons) entered the Assemblie House, and immediately after Mr Dickson the Moderator his prayer, required audience ; wherein he enquired if we did sit then by the authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, or of the Commanders-in-Chief of the English forces, or of the English Judges in Scotland ? The Moderator replied that we were ane Ecclesiastical Synod, ane Spiritual Court of Jesus Christ which meddled not with anything civil ; that our authority was from God, and established by the Laws of the Land yet standing unrepealed ; that by the Solemn League and Covenant, the most of the English Army stood obliged to defend our General Assemblie. When some speeches of this kind had passed, the Lieutenant-Colonel told us his order was to dissolve us ; whereupon he commanded all of us to follow him, else he would drag us out of the room. When we had entered a Protestation of this unheard of and unexampled violence, we did rise and follow him ; he led us all through the whole streets a mile out of the town, encompassing us with foot-companies of musquetiers and horsemen without ; all the people gazing and mourning as the saddest spectacle they had ever seen. When he had led us a mile without the town, he then declared what further he had in commission, that we should not dare to meet any more above three in number ; and that against eight o'clock to-morrow, we should depart the town, under pain of being guiltie of breaking the public peace : and the day following, by sound of trumpet, we were commanded off town under the pain of present im-

prisonment." "Thus," continues the sorrowful narrator, "our General Assemblée, the glory and strength of our Church upon earth, is . . . crushed and trod under foot. . . . For this our hearts are sad, our eyes run down with water, we sigh to God against whom we have sinned. . . . The Lord mind His Sion in these lands. . . ."¹ For thirty-seven years the Assembly ceased to meet. During these years the Kirk was in comparative peace as far as regards enemies from without, though it is true that Covenanters were shocked to hear that certain misguided Highlanders had listened, "with great attention and groaning," to the sermons of English army chaplains, and that in 1652 a few Independent congregations were set up in the North. Baptists and Quakers had also appeared on the scene. Within the walls of the Kirk, that poor city divided against itself, there was neither peace nor rest. Resolutioners and Protesters, armed for a war of extermination, were ready to fly at each other's throats, and to tear each other asunder. Yet, notwithstanding, the children of the Covenant had leisure during the Protectorate to formulate their peculiar doctrines, to intensify hatred of all who were not Covenanters, to make yet narrower and narrower their narrow boundaries, and to gather together the spiritual material which was to be at once food for their fanaticism and strength for the great sufferings they were destined to undergo during the hot time of persecution from 1660 to 1688. It has been said that the history of the Covenant has yet to be

¹ *Baillie*, vol. iii. pp. 225, 226.

written. Is it not written in the biographies of her leaders, in the sermons and "conceived prayer," or dying ejaculations of her preachers and martyrs, and in the wild literature which found its place second to the Scriptures on the bookshelves of the poor man and of the rich? The titles of the books proclaim their contents. "Naptali, or a true and short declaration of the wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ"; "The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, ministered to the saints and sufferers for Christ in Scotland who are amid the Scorching Flames of the Fiery Trial"; "Our Informatory Vindication of a poor, wasted, misrepresented Remnant of the suffering, Anti-Popish, Anti-Prelatic, Anti-Erastian, Anti-Sectarian, true Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland"; "A Cloud of Witnesses for the Royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ"; "Aaron's Rod Blossoming"; "Samson's Riddle, or a Bunch of Bitter Wormwood, bringing forth a bundle of Sweet-smelling Myrrh," and the like. The brooders over such literature saw visions, wrestled with Satan, were visited by angels, and were not surprised by what they believed to be direct interventions of Providence, and special answers to their prayers. Were not the thick mists of the mountains to be vouchsafed as a sheltering veil in response to the prayers and cries of men, women, and children, when the enemy was near, and then, when the peril was past, was not the sun to shine forth again, and the vault of heaven to resound with the thanksgivings of the children of the Covenant? Were not the winds to blow, and the waves to rise, and a shipload of Covenanters to be wafted swiftly over from

Ireland to Scotland, when, in the midst of a dead calm, one among them was to pray, "Lord give us a loof-ful of wind; fill the sails, Lord, and give us a fresh gale. . . ." ¹

Strange indeed were the visions and apparitions which the children of the Covenant and of the mountain believed were vouchsafed to them. For them the glen appeared covered with uncreated tents and phantom men and women. They heard voices crying out, "This is the everlasting Gospel . . . it shall never be taken from you"; and, "The floods, O Lord, have lifted up, they lifted up their voice," came echoing over the hills. A "solid, serious, zealous Christian" describes his vision of the braeside, where men and women were singing, "I to the hills will lift mine eyes, from whence doth come mine aid," and with them was "a milk-white horse, and blood-red saddle on his back . . . which made that serious, discerning, observing Christian conclude that the Gospel would be sent to that place, and that the white horse was the Gospel, and the red saddle persecution." ²

Divine worship, properly so-called, had ceased amongst the Covenanters, for in no sense was the preaching of sermons, and the utterance of addresses or prayers, to be accounted worship. For several years after the Reformation, John Knox's Book of Common Order had been used in the churches, but after the Westminster Assembly this practice ceased. Indeed, after 1638, a strong prejudice against all prescribed forms of prayer set in,

¹ *Law's Memorials.*

² *Ibid.*

and "conceived prayer" superseded the Book. We have also seen that, after the Westminster Assembly, the Lord's Prayer, the GLORIA PATRI, and the recitation of the Creed were abandoned. A leading member of the Assembly of 1649 is said to have proposed that the use of the Lord's Prayer in public worship should be prohibited, and it is also said that the moderator was appointed to draft an act for the purpose. He declared that he could find no words for such an act, "which would displease all the Protestant Churches abroad, and many friends at home; but he does not appear to have thought of offending the Author of that prayer, as he is said to have suggested that the ministers should cease using it when they went home, and let their Presbyteries know what the mind of the Assembly had been."¹ The last utterance of a Covenanting Assembly on the subject of worship was made in July 1652. It was a futile attempt to recommend the reading of the Holy Scriptures in the church. Worship was reduced to the lowest ebb ever known in Christendom. The Kirk had become "little more than a mere teaching institute."² The hideousness of the churches was now, by the united efforts of Covenanter and Puritan, complete. The work begun by John Knox in the sixteenth century was perfected in the seventeenth.

The Presbyterian service now consisted of one or two sermons, which, frequently of prodigious length, were responded to by the groans (at least in the case of the Protesters) and sighs of the listeners. Then followed

¹ *Sprott*, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

prayers "conceived" and uttered by the minister—prayers and sermons supplying the absence of daily newspapers in the publication of the news—and one or two of the metrical psalms were sung by all the congregation. The pulpit had, since the Reformation, entirely taken the place of the altar, as preaching had superseded sacrifice. Family prayers were often interminable, and we hear of one gentleman "who used to pray in his family two hours at a time," and a grace before and after meals occasionally occupied an hour. We have seen before, what a real Fast Day was, and do not wonder that the unfortunate people were "vexed to death."

Although the most violent Protesters were deposed by the Assembly, and the Resolutioners were in the majority, the power and attractions of the former, especially with the half-educated, proved vigorous. To them the Kirk owed the sacramental fasts which existed till within very recent years. The Protesters ordained that the "Sacrament of the Supper" should be dispensed once a month, but frequently half of the parishioners were cut off as unworthy, and if defection and malignity were rampant in a parish, no communion would be administered there for years. In Edinburgh the rite was not observed for six years, nor in Glasgow for five, nor in Stirling for nine. The sins which debarred from communion were not necessarily mortal, for we find a minister excommunicating "ordinarie sleepers in time of sermon, though they be strong and healthy persons." "On the Wednesday before (the Communion) they held a fast day with prayers and sermons for about eight or

ten hours together. On the Saturday they had two or three preparation sermons; and on the Lord's Day they had so very many that the action continued above twelve hours in some places; and all ended with three or four sermons on Monday for thanksgiving. A great many ministers were brought together from several parts: and high pretenders would have gone forty or fifty miles to a noted Communion."¹ "If a man," says Kirkton, "had seen one of their solemn Communions, where many congregations met in great multitudes—some dozen of ministers used to preach, and the people continued, as it were, in a sort of trance (so serious were they in spiritual exercises) for three days at least, he would have thought it a solemnity unknown to the rest of the world."² Wailing over the backslidings of the times, reviling all and sundry save themselves, announcing freely the wrath of God to all and sundry save the Elect among themselves, formed too frequently the subject of the Protester's effusions. It was the religion of the Covenant that was taught rather than the Gospel of Jesus Christ. "Now ye in this countryside ere it be long," preached Alexander Peden, "will all be charged to go and hear these cursed curates . . . look the 5th of the Galatians, 19, 20, I say look to that Scripture well, and think with yourselves, lads and lasses in this countryside . . . that going to hear these profane hirelings, would take you to Hell as soon as idolatry, adulteries, witchcraft, or any of these sins which are named in that place." Among the dominating

¹ *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 100.² *Kirkton*, p. 55.

characteristics of the Covenanting religion, besides that which its adherents possessed in common with all Protestants from the highest Anglican to the lowest Puritan, deadly hatred towards the Church of God, may be specified preference of the Old Testament to the New. During a general fast we find twenty-five exhortations from the Old Testament, not one meditation from the New; and the ideal Covenanter went forth with a Bible in his pocket, the first books of which he was continually quoting, and a broadsword in his right hand; resistance to Erastianism and a total lack of toleration. In Scotland a horror of Erastianism, of "all usurpations made of Christ's right who is the Prince of the Kings of the earth," had been justly stirred up by the royal endeavours in late years to place the King above the Kirk. The pretensions of James VI. and Charles I. to ecclesiastical supremacy were promptly rejected, and "Christ's Regalia" was dearer to many true Presbyterians—all honour to their courage!—than the crowns of the united kingdoms. Toleration and liberty of conscience were esteemed soul-destroying errors; "that sleep-drink of this anti-Christian, intoxicating toleration was . . . brewed in hell, blinked in Rome, and propined in Scotland."¹ Once we read of a Covenanting maiden who gave way to a strange temptation. For a moment she was filled with that spirit of charity which seems to discover good in those who differ from us; she actually prayed for those of her family who had gone to the Episcopal Church, that in spite of unworthy

¹ Shield's *Faithful Contendings*, p. 308.

instruments, the means of grace might be blessed to the hearers. But her mouth was at once stopped, and a deep conviction came upon her that she had asked God to countenance sin. She only found relief when she vowed that if her tongue were restored to her she would never more pray for assistance to them.¹

The terrible distinctive doctrines of Calvin haunted the poor Covenanter from the cradle to the grave,—rather their shadows darkened him before his birth. A woman in anticipation of motherhood cries, “Oh! what terrible views had I of a reprobate seed . . . an elect babe or none, or none!” Another unhappy woman “got peremptory assurance that none of the children she should bear should see Heaven.”² What gloom and superstition hung round many a poor soul by day and night! “I was afraid,” says a woman of the Covenant, “that I had sinned the sin unto death. One Sabbath night when my trouble was very great, there fell out a strong temptation to laughter in the family, and being overcome of it I was immediately challenged, though the challenge seemed to come from the devil. ‘O,’ says the enemy, ‘you have now sinned the sin unto death.’ I knew not

¹ See *Narrative of Mr James Nimmo*, 1654–1709, edit. from Or. MS. by W. G. Scott-Moncrieff, F.S.A. An early indication of emotional religion had appeared about 1630, when, led by Dickson, Blair, and Livingstone, the people of Stewarton experienced what was called a Revival. The condition of the revived was known as the Stewarton Sickness. At a communion in the parish of Shotts, this excitement reached a climax, when the people abandoned themselves to “extasies and enthusiasms.”

² Nimmo's *Narrative*.

how to go alone, and when I ventured, I durst not bolt the door, and after I had lighted my candle, and had read half a side of a book in octavo, then the temptation came in sorely upon me that the room was full of devils to carry me to hell. I thought I had no comfort but the burning candle, and out it went without any visible cause, whereupon I thought I should have dropped down to the pit."¹

One favourite way of seeking inspiration or guidance was to turn to a text in the Bible at random, and "with some ingenuity texts apparently inappropriate are discovered to contain the very answer needed." For example, a certain Covenanter is anxious about his approaching marriage, doubtful whether to proceed with it or not, when he says, "that Scripture came with power on my spirit, 2 Kings, vii. 3, 14, anent the four lepers at the gate of Samaria, which the Lord made applicable to my case."²

If there was clinging to the doctrine of "total depravity," and in some cases absolute assurance of damnation, so there was as absolute an assurance of Election. This assurance, expressed in words that horrify, and in sharp contrast to the self-reproaches, the contrition, the welcome penance, the *misereres* of the Catholic saint, distinguished the death-beds of the Protesters. "Victory! victory! victory! for evermore," were the last cries of one minister. Of another we read that, as he lay a-dying, he fell into "an kind of trance," "then he awaked, and took off his nightcap, and threw it to the

¹ Nimmo's *Narrative*.

² *Ibid.*

bed's foot, and cried out, 'I have now seen the Lord, and have heard Him say, set a stool, and make way for my faithful servant, Mr Robert Scott,' and after a short while he died."¹ Again these following are the words of one in good faith—"Now farewell all things in time; farewell Holy Scriptures, farewell all Christian friends, farewell prayer and meditations, farewell faith, farewell hope. Welcome Heaven; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; welcome angels, and the souls of just men made perfect; welcome praises for evermore!" Surely, through the deep night of Calvinism, the grace of God would sometimes shed its rays, and "out of the depths" the poor heart, touched by that grace, yearned without knowing it for the city of God, and for the communion of the saints. But the Incarnate Son of God, banished from His altars, the events of His life on earth uncommemorated by feast or fast, was already an abstraction—men and women talked with coarse familiarity about "closing with Christ," about having "found Christ," who would punish their neighbour for rejoicing by the crib of Bethlehem, or in the light of Easter Day, or for weeping with the Virgin Mother beneath the cross of Calvary. When the trades ceased to maintain their altars in the parish church, what did it mean but that a strong link between the divine and the human was almost broken, that the merchant and the artisan had forgotten the carpenter's shop at Nazareth, and knew not the touch of the Son of Man, glorifying the lowliest earthly toil? The Gospel rites were already in Scotland

¹ *Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, vol. i. p. 138.

more shadowy than those of the Jewish temple, and the Gospel itself, according to the practical teaching of the new religion, was a melancholy record of broken promises, of feeble allegory, and of false or maudlin sentiment. The majority of the Scottish nation was at this period in a state of abject submission to the Kirk. The ministers and the elders interfered with everyone and everything. They penetrated to the fireside to know why a member of the household had been absent from sermon, to the larder to see if there was meat there on a fast day, to the kitchen to see if there was a joint on the spit or broth in the pot, to the garden to track the steps of those who might presume to gather fruit on the Sabbath, and woe be to the sinners who, on that day, ventured to sit by their doors, or walk in fields and gardens to enjoy the fresh air and the sunshine. The elder had also to search out and bring to punishment "swearers," "long-sitters" in ale-houses, and "drinkers of healths." In the presence of this vigilant officer persons had to be wary of expletives, and a schoolmaster loses his situation for, among other faults, "profanely taking the name of the Devil in his mouth," and has to confess his faults on his knees in the audience of the people.¹ Confession was made before the Kirk Session or the congregation, and penance was performed by sitting on the stool of repentance in the Kirk clad in sackcloth. The pillar and stool of repentance and the sackcloth were always ready.

During the time of sermon the Kirk officer was pro-

¹ Lamont's *Diary*, p. 56.

vided with a staff, "therewith to waken sleepers, and to remove greeting bairns furth of the Kirk."¹

The name of Samuel Rutherford, as a distinguished minister, has already appeared. He was a singular type of what the Covenant could produce, and has been called "the poet-theologian and preacher of the Covenant," "the renowned eagle," "that flower of the Church famous Mr Samuel Rutherford," "a most profound, learned man, a most plain and painful minister, and a most heavenly Christian." We are told that men who would have shuddered at the idea of revering the relics of a Catholic saint, desired to be laid to rest near the grave of their own Covenanted saint; that one who would have gone to the stake sooner than reverence the altar of God, used to lift his hat as he passed by Rutherford's supposed birthplace; and those who shrunk from the very name of what they called superstition, have lain all night long on his grave in the cold kirkyard of St Andrews, seeking inspiration from nearness to his sacred ashes. His writings, albeit occasionally disfigured by an outburst of bitterness and ill-temper (for he could bear himself most rabidly), are nevertheless replete with wild, poetic imagery, and although tied body and soul within the narrowest cell of his desolate creed, where the sunshine of the sacraments had never shone, to him, in some way we wot not of, the grace of God seems to have penetrated, and his realisation of the unseen world, which was vivid, is often expressed in the most spiritual language. In reading his letters to his brother ministers or to high-born

¹ M'Crie, citing Scott's *MS. Register*.

dames as well as to women in his own position of life, we are amazed by his estimate of the nothingness of passing joys and sorrows, and of the magnitude of things eternal, and listening to his words of consolation to those in sorrow, his admonitions to those who were straying, his advice to those in prosperity,¹ we may well speculate on what Samuel Rutherford might have been, delivered from the yoke of Calvin, chastened by the Sacrament of Penance, and fed by the Body and Blood of Christ. Savage as a controversialist, intolerant to all who differed from him, ever ready to blaspheme the Church of God, like a true Covenanter he died, exclaiming, "Mine eyes shall see my Redeemer; I know He shall stand the last day upon the earth, and I shall be caught up in the clouds to meet Him in the air, and shall be ever with Him, and what would you have more. . . ? Oh! for arms to embrace Him! Oh! for a well-tuned harp!"² And when these last words had died away, and the mists of death had gathered, and the silence of death had come, all intercourse between Samuel Rutherford and his friends was over. There was no "Requiem aeternam dona ei Domine, et lux perpetua luceat ei" on the Covenanter's gloomy gravestone. Once, indeed, we read of a certain Mr Dunlop, who, being at supper with friends in Edinburgh "fell into the strangest rapture," and after praying for nearly an hour he burst forth, "And now, Lord, what shall we say? We will even put up a petition for the dead! Lord, hasten Thy second coming, that

¹ See *Religious Letters*, Rev. Samuel Rutherford.

² *Kirkton*, p. 132.

all the dead saints may be made completely happy, and we may all meet together!"¹ Superstitions were clung to by many. A man in distress seeks to offer a propitiation by burning his pig alive. A minister was preaching in Edinburgh, when a rat "came and sat down on his Bible" and he stopped his sermon by telling his congregation that "this was a message from God to him," he bade them farewell, went home, and fell sick.² Did not a minister's horse choose for him the right path, and did not a sagacious cow point out to him the ford on an unknown river? Those strange gloomy souls rejected belief in the Communion of the saints and angels, but hankerings after belief in that Communion and for the custody of the unseen guardians are sometimes manifested. We are told that it was only "by the ministry of the angels" that a certain man who was thrown from his horse on the street of Paisley escaped unhurt, and when Samuel Rutherford was a babe, and fell into a well, a "bonnie young man," "no doubt ane angel,"³ pulled him out in safety. We have seen how vigorous the belief in witchcraft was. But Satan visited others besides witches, coming as a black dog, or in other forms less distressing and more subtle. The persecution of persons, chiefly miserable old women, for alleged witchcraft prevailed to a great extent during this unhappy reign. Indeed, ever since the Reformation, a belief in "Satan's Invisible Kingdom," and in the active agency of the fallen sons of light had been intense, and the discovery

¹ *Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 12.

³ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 57.

and punishment of witches and warlocks was a favourite occupation of the minister. During the Protectorate this occupation was discouraged, but after the Restoration a vast number of unfortunate creatures were, after horrible tortures, burnt for the alleged crimes of selling their souls to Satan, of renouncing their baptism, and, assisted by their familiars, generally in the form of black cats, of laying fell diseases on their neighbour's persons, and bringing disasters on the flocks and crops. Suffering and distress in all parts of the country prevailed exceedingly. For the sick there were now no hospitals, for the helpless and innocent poor, since convent walls had been cast down, there was no regular provision, and with "strong and idle beggars, Egyptians, common and notorious thieves, and other dissolute and loose persons," the simple and summary measure of transporting them to Jamaica and Barbadoes was adopted.

The type of womanhood produced by the Covenant was singularly unattractive. Sometimes the "Ladies of the Covenant" are repulsive. The Vision of the Virgin Mother, the Morning Star, the Mystical Rose, the Virgin most pure, the Queen of all Saints had never met the Covenantant maiden's eyes. Where faith in the Incarnation was practically so very feeble, to speak of our Lady as Mother of God seemed impossible. The biographies of Sarah and Rebekah and Rachel, the accounts of Miriam singing to the Lord, of Ruth in the cornfields of Booz, of Deborah, a mother in Israel, of Sisera in her tent, were familiar to all, but the name of her who had prophesied that all generations should call her blessed was never uttered. The glory of the virgin life in imita-

tion of One who was the Virgin Son of a Virgin Mother was undreamed of by the sons and daughters of the Covenant. That there were favoured souls who knew only the stunted and crippled Gospel wherein they had been reared, and were sincerely trying in good faith to live for God, and to obey His Laws, and that these did glorify His Name, we can never doubt, for His Grace is confined to no channels. Yet at their goodness we marvel, and their place must have been strange within a system which had banished beauty from the Sanctuary, and taught that all men were sunk in an abyss of total depravity by "sin, both original and actual," "bound over to the wrath of God, and Curse of the Law," and "wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body."¹ From the shipwreck of the faith, real fragments of truth and righteousness were preserved uninjured, and amongst many examples, the following may suffice:—When a young man was lamenting that his studies took time from his prayers, a minister said to him, "Do not you think that a weaver is as really serving God, and truly accepted (of) Him, when he is sitting at his loom, counting his threads, as when at immediate prayer?" "Praise God," said a preacher, more cheerful than his system, "if you have no more than this good day, and sunshine to the lambs."²

To persons reared under the influence of the Covenants, the field-meeting or conventicle had peculiar attractions. The greater the peril, the stronger the fascination, and not even the fear of torture and death sufficed to deter

¹ *Confession of Faith.*² *Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 187.

"the elect" from indulging in this morbid species of religious excitement, perilous to the soul, and in inclement weather productive of rheumatism and various other ailments to the body. The delights of the field-meeting may be easily accounted for. The creed of Calvin had succeeded indeed in banishing beauty from the House of God made with hands, but over the Cathedral of Nature, the handiwork of the Most High, it had no power. It could neither darken the ceiling of the sky, nor efface the transept formed by the everlasting hills, and in these gatherings of stern men and emotional women in Scottish glens, the natural craving of the human heart for the beauty of the Lord's House may, unknown to itself, have derived gratification. The secrecy had its charm, the peril had its glamour: the Covenanters believed that they were all suffering for conscience' sake, and that their state resembled those who were "destitute, afflicted, tormented," while in any case a seat on the heather on a breezy hill was a delightful exchange for the damp floor of a badly-ventilated kirk. "Then," says one of the Protesters, "had we such humiliation days for personal and public defections, such Sabbath solemnities, that the place where they were kept might have been called Bethel or Peniel, or Bochim, and all of them Jehovah-Shammah. . . ." ¹

Persons got into the habit of roaming about the country from one Communion to another, and cravings for unreal excitement were thus gratified. "Oh!" cries one, "the three wonderful days of the Lord's presence at East Nisbet in the Merse!" ² That was the greatest

¹ *Hinde let Loose*, p. 132.

² *Scots Worthies*, p. 367.

Communion I suppose these twenty years. I got there what I will never forget while I live. Glory to His sweet name that ever there was such a day in Scotland. . . . Oh, that I could get Him praised and magnified for it. He was seen that day sitting at the head of His table, and His spikenard sending forth a pleasant smell. . . . I thought it was a begun Heaven to be in that place." "We entered on the administration of the holy ordinance, committing it and ourselves to the invisible protection of the Lord of Hosts . . . better than weapons of war, or the strength of the hills . . . the place where we convened was every way commodious, and seemed to have been framed on purpose. It was a green and pleasant haugh, fast by the water-side. On either hand there was a spacious brae, in form of a half round, covered with delightful pasture, and rising with a gentle slope to a goodly height. Above us was the clear blue sky, for it was a sweet and calm Sabbath morning promising to be indeed one of the days of the Son of Man. . . . The communion tables were spread on the green by the water, and around them the people had arranged themselves in decent order. But the far greater multitude sat on the brae-face, which was crowded from top to bottom. . . . We desired not the countenance of earthly kings. . . . It was indeed the doing of the Lord, who covered us a table in the wilderness, in presence of our foes, and reared a pillar of glory between us and the enemy, like the fiery cloud of old, that separated between the camp of Israel and the Egyptians. . . . Amidst the lonely mountains we remembered the words of the Lord, that true worship was not peculiar to Jerusalem or

Samaria, that the beauty of holiness consisted not in consecrated buildings, or material temples. We remembered the Ark of the Israelites, . . . we thought of Abraham and the ancient patriarchs, who laid their victims on the rocks for an altar, and burnt sweet incense under the shade of the green tree. The ordinance of the last supper, that memorial of His dying love till His second coming was signally countenanced. . . . In that day Zion put on the beauty of Sharon and Carmel ; the mountains broke forth into singing, and the desert place was made to bud and blossom as the rose. . . . The tables were served by some gentlemen and persons of the gravest deportment . . . all the regular forms were gone through, the communicants entered at one end, and retired at the other,—a way being kept clear to take their seats again on the hill-side. . . . The Communion was peaceably concluded, all the people heartily offering up their gratitude, and singing with a joyful noise to the rock of their salvation. It was pleasant as the night fell, to hear their melody swelling in full unison along the hill, the whole congregation joining with one accord, and praising God with the voice of psalms.”¹

Occasionally the sermon was in unison with the surroundings, as the following :—“O wells, oh lochs, oh running streams, where were you when my Lord could not get a drink ? The wells and lochs answer, alas ! we dare not know Him ; the Lord hath laid a fence on us ; we are arrested ; we dare not serve Him. Oh, to hear

¹ *Memoirs of the Rev. John Blackader*, by Alexander Crichton.

the wells say, we will give Herod and Pilate a drink, but we will give Christ none! Give me leave to say that there is none on earth brewed for him; nothing but a drink of gall and vinegar. The wells say, we will give oxen and horses drink; but never a drop for the Lord of glory. For all His service done at Jerusalem, for all His good preaching, for all His glorious miracles—not so much as a drop of cold water! Fie on you, famous Jerusalem! Is this your stipend? Is this your reward to your great High Priest? No, not so much as the beggar's courtesy, a drink of cold water to your dear Redeemer Jesus! But by this, Christ hath brought drink for all believers.”¹

From the meetings in the fields and on the mountains we turn to the saddest pages in the history of this period, indeed in the tragic pages of Scottish history there are none sadder, and few more humiliating than those which describe the dreary battlefields of the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians between the Restoration and the Revolution. How far religion and politics were commingled, where religion ended and politics began, is hard to learn, but in any case, the consequences of the awful bitter strife which raged between the Presbyterians and Episcopalians are summed up in a record on a tombstone in the kirkyard of the Grey Friars in Edinburgh, where “lies interr’d the dust of those who stood ’gainst perjury, resisting unto blood; adhering to the Covenant and laws.” “From May 27th, 1661, that the most noble Marquis of Argyll was beheaded, to the 17th February,

¹ Rutherford's *Communion Sermons*, p. 289.

1688, that Mr James Renwick suffered, were one way or other murdered and destroyed for the same cause, about 18,000, of whom were executed at Edinburgh about 100 of noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and others, noble martyrs for Jesus Christ. The most of them lie here." Well may we ask, if the advantages of any form of ecclesiastical government without the "shadow of a shade" of difference in doctrine, were worth this terrible record? In 1625, good Bishop Leighton, sick unto death of strife, when praying for the King's permission to retire, said that he "could not concur in the planting of the Christian religion itself in such a violent manner, much less a form of Church Government."¹

It is interesting to endeavour to discover what was the real doctrine of those Episcopalians who were at war to the knife with the Presbyterians, and are described by the latter as "the old and conscious enemy of the Church of Scotland from the very beginning, the Amalekites that first made war against our Israel, after our forefathers were delivered from the bondage of Egyptian Romish task-masters; and the Canaanites that have ever since been blinds in our eyes and thorns in our sides."

Let the facts speak for themselves, and let them be bravely contemplated, not in the glamour of the imagination, but in the clear light of history. The Episcopal form of Church Government was indeed restored, but the Archbishop and bishops were as they had been under the former establishment of James VI., as an Episcopalian

¹ Leighton's *Works*, vol. iv. pp. 397, 398.

historian says, rather "the chief ecclesiastical officers of the sovereign than . . . the divinely constituted rulers of the church."¹ "In short," write other Episcopalians, "except the prelatical titles, we perceive scarcely anything in the Scottish establishment revived by Charles II. peculiar to an Episcopal church."² "We had no ceremonies, surplice, altars, cross in baptism, nor the meanest of those things which would be allowed in England, by the dissenters, in way of accommodation."³ An Englishman in Scotland about this time says of the Episcopal Church:—"For though they had a Calendar . . . where there are the names of divers Saints, yet 'tis more for the use of their fairs, and to know the age of the moon, or when the sun enters the signs than anything else. . . ."⁴

The Ecclesiastical Courts were the parochial session, the presbytery, consisting of the ministers of the several parishes within its bounds, and the diocesan Synod presided over by the Bishop, and by the chief ecclesiastical court, the General Assembly. The old Confession of Faith of 1560 was still sanctioned by the State, but the Confessions of 1616, and of Westminster, may have been adopted by those who preferred them, while for the instruction of the people the Westminster Catechism was used.

A bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church has left us

¹ *Grub*, vol. iii. p. 216.

² Russell's *Church in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 261. See also Leighton's *Works*, vol. iv. pp. 398, 401.

³ See *Sir George Mackenzie*.

⁴ *A Short Account of Scotland*, Rev. Thos. Morer, p. 59.

the following account of the worship of his Communion both before and immediately after its disestablishment in 1689 :—" Let us now look back to the state of the church with respect to public worship . . . which, indeed, at the Revolution and for a long time after, was very lamentable, and has scarcely deserved the name ; for we had no such thing as any offices or liturgies used among us. The method in our ordinary Assemblies on the Lord's Day was almost the same as with that of the Presbyterians : beginning with singing a stanza or two of the metre Psalms, after which followed an extemporary prayer, during which, as well as at singing of the Psalms, most of the congregation sat irreverently. . . . Then came a long sermon, the text of which was no sooner read, but most of the people put on their hats or bonnets. After the sermon followed another extemporary prayer, at the conclusion of which they said the Lord's Prayer ; then another stanza or two of the Metre Psalms, which they concluded with a Doxology, but the people sat likewise during all the time of this last Prayer and Psalms, in the same manner as in those before the Sermon, only they rose up at the Doxology, though some thought even that too superstitious (whether they generally stood up at the Lord's Prayer I am not so certain). After the Doxology the congregation was dismissed with the Blessing ; but, indeed, most of them did not wait for it, for all the time it was apronouncing they were running out of the church, like so many sheep breaking out of a fold, in the greatest hurry and confusion ; nay, from the time the Sermon was ended, the people in many places at least, began gradually to drop out, for in truth the

hearing of it was the only design they had in coming to church. . . . The Holy Eucharist was not celebrated, in most places at least, above once a year, if so often ; and their method of doing it differed also very little from that of the Presbyterians ; for they had their Preparation Sermon (as they called it) the day before, their Action Sermon on the day itself, besides their discourses at the serving of the tables (for they had long tables placed in the church, on each side of which the people sat as if it had been at a common meal and handed about the elements from one to another, whilst the attending elders shoved the plate with the Consecrated Bread along the table for their greater conveniency, during which time a Presbyterian was still discoursing to them—only after each table was served, while they who had communicated were removing, and others planting themselves again about it a stanza of a Psalm was singing), and on the day after they had their Thanksgiving Sermon. All this work of Preparation, Action, and Thanksgiving, Sermons, and Discourses at serving the tables (for these were the phrases used by them as well as by the Presbyterians) obliged them likewise to take the assistance of two or three Presbyters from the neighbouring Parishes. . . . As for the consecration, that was performed by an Extemporary Prayer, which, how defective it must frequently have been, may easily be judged, considering that many of them had no notion of its being the sacrifice of the Christian Church, only they repeated the words of the History of the Institution. And though they might proportion the Bread at first to the number of communicants before consecration; yet,

at least in many places, they generally consecrated but a small part of the wine, and when it was exhausted they had a little barrel or some other such vessel at hand, from which they filled more, and straight used it without any consecration at all.”¹ And such was what is called, in modern days, “the ancient Scottish rite.” The wondering Englishman, before cited, says:—“This is the Church’s way in Scotland, and it seems to us Presbyterian, and therefore we the more admire that the two parties should so much disagree among themselves, when they appear to the world so like brethren.” Now, such a service was perfectly consistent with the doctrine of the Episcopal Church, according to her standards on the Holy Eucharist. The Presbyterian formularies, the “Confession of Faith,”² the “Larger Catechism,”³ the “Shorter Catechism,”⁴ and the chapter on the Lord’s Supper in the “Directory” actually come nearer to the language of the Real Presence than either the Scottish or English Communion offices, and the Episcopalian rite was the expression of the Episcopalian doctrine. To the Catholic as to the Presbyterian, it is neither surprising nor inconsistent, as it was neither surprising nor inconsistent to the Episcopalian of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. The Real Objective Presence of the Body and Blood of the Redeemer in the Holy Eucharist, as believed in by the Holy Church throughout the world and in every age,

¹ Bishop Rattray’s *Works*.

² Chap. xxix. sec. 5.

³ *Questions*, 168, 170.

⁴ *Ibid.* 96. See also Lyon’s *Hist. of St Andrews*.

was as absolutely denied by Episcopalians as by Presbyterians. If the expressions used by both parties in regard to their Communion rites are frequently metaphorical and misleading, the language they united in employing to denounce the altar and the priests is the language of unmitigated unqualified abuse, and is abbreviated in two sentences—"The Mass is idolatry," "The mass-priest is an idolater." "We need no sacrificing priests, no mass," loudly declared the Episcopalian as the Presbyterian minister.

The history of the land, as contained in the laws of the land, in Acts of Parliament, in records of the Privy Council, in annals, in biography, in romance, proclaim without exception that "down with the altar, death to the mass-priest" was the common battle cry of Episcopalians and Presbyterians. The blazing fires at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and of many a burgh, wherein perished crucifixes, vestments, missals, holy pictures, chalices and patens prove that the material destruction, commanded or sanctioned, was faithfully carried out, whilst banishment, imprisonment in the Edinburgh Tolbooth, starvation witnessed to the confessorship of priests and laity.

The good Bishop's description of a Communion rite is compatible only with the blankest Zwinglianism, and rightly did the Episcopalians as the Presbyterians sit at a table for their Communion for "the form of a table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the Popish Mass unto the right use of the Lord's Supper. For the use of an altar is to make sacrifice upon it; the use of a table is to serve men to eat

upon.”¹ For, indeed, beneath the veiled language of the new Liturgy of 1637, beneath the carefully-prescribed rules for the actions of the minister, lay hidden denial of belief in the words of the Eternal Truth, as real if less outspoken than the negations of Huldreich Zwingli. The key-note of the doctrine taught at the picturesque field-meeting as at the lifeless rite within the walls of the curate’s church was identical. If the Episcopalians and Presbyterians of the Restoration were plunged in warfare which may well have made angels weep, history has not yet revealed to us wherein their differences of doctrine consisted.

¹ Ridley’s Works, p. 322.

CHAPTER X.

THE CHURCH IN THE LATTER YEARS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

“ The living waters . . .
 . . . brighten as they roll,
Till they have reached the eternal city . . .
For the perfected spirits of the just ! ”

WORDSWORTH.

FROM the chronicles of the battlefield, from the strife of tongues, the scaffold, the Field-Meeting, and the Torture-Chamber, we turn to the annals of the Catholic Church. It is with a sense of relief that we enter the still and silent and poverty-stricken mansions of that City of the Living God, whose condition in Scotland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may indeed be compared to that of the Church of the Catacombs. There was at least one notable difference between the Church of the Catacombs and the Church of Scotland,—the former had known no other home than the dens and caves of the earth, the latter had been a “ city set on a mountain,” and only a hundred years before, as befitted the Royal Bride, the King’s Daughter, her palaces and cathedrals, her abbeyes, her convents, and her leper-houses were in their undesecrated beauty the joy of the northern land.

In her splendour and her glory the Catholic Church in Scotland was now hidden from the eyes of men. History, which has related minutely the tribulations of those who hated her, has passed her by, or, when she lay crushed under penal legislation and punished for sins she had never committed, never would commit, has only alluded to her in language of loathing, and called her by names shameful to repeat. But the disciple was not above her Master. If what we have to tell of her sounds poor, and dull and tame, beside the exciting and noisy scenes we have been witnessing, all the more wonderfully must we realise her awful vitality, for when her very life seemed ebbing away, when to all appearance she was bleeding to death, that life which Hell itself could not take, was there. Of her it has been truly said, that she meddled not with Cæsar nor the things of Cæsar, and she did not loudly proclaim at the street corners her virtues and her sufferings. She sought not the triumphs nor the pity of this world, and in these days of peace and security, as we kneel before our altars, brighter outwardly but not more favoured within than were hers, we thank her for her patience and humility, whose fruits we are now reaping, and we pray her Lord for the gift to emulate the unrecorded graces of her sons and daughters.

The first step towards her organisation which had been taken since the Reformation was the establishment of the Mission under a Head or Prefect. On September 2nd, 1661, Father William Ballantyne or Bellenden, the first Prefect, died at Elgin, in Lady Huntly's house, and was interred with reverent ceremonial in the Cathedral of Elgin. He was "a man of great piety, a good controvertist, a zealous

preacher, and very well versed in ascetics. He was the instrument by his learning and mildness of the conversion of many Protestants," and he reconciled many who had strayed from the Fold, including the Marquis of Huntly. His successor as Prefect was Alexander Winster or Dunbar, who was provided with ample faculties. The great distance of Scotland from Rome made the possession of special faculties necessary for many cases demanding instant decision, and Winster's faculties were almost the same as those given to a vicar apostolic. In 1679, Cardinal Philip Howard, at the request of Charles II., was made Protector of England and Scotland in place of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, deceased. The new Protector was well known in England. He had followed Charles II. after the Restoration, and was for several years Grand Almoner to Queen Catherine of Braganza, and First Chaplain of her Majesty's Oratory at Whitehall.

Father Winster was destined to serve the mission for many long years.

The records of the Catholic Church in Scotland during these years, indeed during the whole of the seventeenth century, are scanty and poor. The reports despatched from time to time to Propaganda afford our best sources of information. A Report was sent by a disciple of Ballantyne, in the time of the Protectorate, and Winster prepared one of great importance. In 1679, by decrees of Propaganda, a Visitation of the Mission was effected by Father Alexander Leslie, whose brother William was then, and for a number of years to come, Procurator in Rome. Father Leslie went in person to Rome to give an

account of his proceedings. To the 106 heads of written instructions given by Propaganda, he subjoined a brief answer, and in these answers we obtain our information. Father Leslie reports that at the time of his visitation there were about 14,000 Catholics in Scotland, about 12,000 being in the Highlands and islands. For these the provision of priests was sadly inadequate; even in the remote northern regions where the Catholics were most numerous there were but four priests "who were continually in motion."

The remedy for this state of matters, Father Leslie said, was greater attention to the Colleges at Paris, Douai, Madrid, and Rome, which sadly needed reform, and were far from fulfilling satisfactorily the purpose they were primarily founded for, namely, the education of young men for the Scottish Mission. He proposed "the distribution of the Missioners into fixed stations, and to assign limits to everyone, out of which he is not to exercise his functions except in cases of necessity." The wandering habits of the clergy made this imperative. He also proposes centres, in each of which a priest should be placed. These were Galloway, Clydesdale, Aberdeen, whose priest was also to serve the Mearns, Braemar, Garioch, Strathbogie, Buchan, the Enzie in Banffshire, Glenlivet, Strathavon, Kintyre, Moydart, Knoydart, Glegarry, Arisaig, Morar, Strathglass, Urquhart and Glenmorriston, Ross and Assynt, Mull and Coll, Firz, Eigg, Rum and Skye, Canna, Barra, Uist, Benbecula, and Harris. Over the clergy established in these places there must be a General Prefect, and the Father desires that the priests should have a certain knowledge of medicine, surgery,

law, and mathematics, and that they should be good preachers, "as the people of Scotland both Catholic and Protestant are very fond of preaching."¹

But if the priests in the 17th century were few and far between, if their ways were erratic and their dress rough and uncared for, they were usually good and devoted men, and went about the country saying Holy Mass, preaching, catechising, ministering to those in health, and undeterred by northern storms they proceeded on horseback, or, more generally, on foot over mountain and moor to give the last Sacraments to the dying, risking every privation rather than willingly let an immortal soul pass unaided to the Invisible Land. Poverty and squalor, —five hundred crowns was the annual sum assigned for the support of ten missionaries,—hunger and thirst which sometimes only meal and milk were to appease, intense fatigue without the certainty of having where to lay his head; above all, the anguish of knowing that souls were falling away before persecution and abandoning the Fold, of dealing with those who were obstinate in their errors, of seeing bad Catholics disgrace their religion, of hearing the Holy Faith frequently blasphemed, of passing by cathedrals and abbeys and altars in the dust, to say nothing of constant risk of imprisonment, exile, and death—this was the Promised Land of the Scottish Missioner. Even in quiet times life was generally uncheered by human sympathy, and was more commonplace than picturesque, more sordid than romantic.

If the young men who went to the foreign colleges

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.), Contemporary Records (MS.). •

with the express intention of preparing for the Scottish Mission, of living for it, and if need be dying for it, were comparatively few, the magnitude of the sacrifice demanded by that Mission must be taken into account. The few men who offered themselves and who consummated the sacrifice, were men apart, and were necessarily endowed with special heroism, patriotism, and sanctity. Nothing short of burning zeal for the greater glory of God, and for the salvation of the souls of their compatriots sufficed, and with all spiritual equipments must be combined vigorous physical health and an extra provision of tact and common sense in dealing with Covenanters and Wild Western Whigs, as well as with the defenders of monarchy and of an immemorial past. The far-off northern land, albeit beloved, was sometimes forgotten, when Alps and Apennines came between, by those who had left it full of enthusiasm for its conversion, and looked back to from the vineclad hills of Italy, it was a dreary mist-veiled wilderness of heresy and sorrow, of rain and tempest.

Life in the colleges abroad was fairly comfortable, and the years spent there must often have been thankfully remembered. Father Patrick Anderson, who in 1615 succeeded the first governor of the Scots' College in Rome, the "vigilant and prudent Paolini," drew up a set of excellent rules for the students. On admission, each student was to make a spiritual retreat, preparatory to a general confession, and to studying the rules. After six months' residence he was required to take an oath—"if it shall please the superiors to take Holy Orders, and return to Scotland." Three years were allowed for

Philosophy, and four for Divinity. Each day was fully occupied. It began with prayer and meditation, and Holy Mass, and ended as it began in silence and prayer. Often the student may have yearned to lengthen out the time of his sojourn. Thirteen hundred years had passed away since the first Scottish student, leaving the Holy City, though still also the City of the Caesars, had torn himself away from the Sabine and the Alban Hills, from the ashes of St Peter and St Paul, from the sunny skies and countless churches of Rome to the barbarian regions of the Southern Picts. The hardships and difficulties of the journey from Rome to Caledonia were probably greater in the days of St Ninian, but the modes of travelling were little changed, and the conditions of sacrifice remained. In a letter from a Scottish priest, dated "December 9th, 1693, Bologna," the departure of the Scottish student is described. "Having ended his studies, he leaves the College, which allows him a scanty viaticum, a great part of which he must spend on clothes, books, and other necessary articles, before he begins his journey. He walks all the road to Paris on foot. There, for many months, must he at his own expense remain to learn the practical and essential duties of a missionary . . . He lands finally on the Scots shore, without money and scarcely knowing where he can have a diet of meat or a bed to sleep. Like the Apostles, *sine sacco et sine perâ*, he arrives on the Mission, he has Divine Providence alone on whom to rely. He enters upon his apostolic labours. He goes from house to house, from town to country, from province to province, preaches, exhorts, catechises poor and rich ; flies to the house of

sorrow to give comfort; in quest of the sinner to reclaim; to impart strength to the weak, and animate the strong. Neither rain nor snow, wind nor frost, hunger nor cold, is an obstacle to his inflamed zeal. With a staff in his hand in place of a horse, and with scarce a shilling in his pocket, he braves all inconveniences and dangers to gain souls to God, and dispense the Divine Mercies. . . . ”¹

The experiences of the Scottish Missioner and the circumstances attending his campaign were exceptional. At a time when it was impossible to keep the Holy Sacraments long by them for the use of the sick, and when it was uncertain when or where they might be permitted to say Mass next, the clergy made it their practice, while preparing for Mass, to offer a short prayer, begging for direction as to the number of Particles that might be required before they had another opportunity of consecrating. It was generally observed that the whole number thus reserved was needed before they could say Mass again.² How often, despite every endeavour, the Priest would arrive just too late, for as he had no fixed abode, and as few had even an idea where he was to be found, half the country might be searched for him in vain. Then the dying Catholic must be content with the Sacraments of desire, perfect contrition affording full absolution, and spiritual communion uniting him to his Lord.

As the visitations of the clergy were conducted inde-

¹ Letters (MS.), Scot's College, Rome.

² See the Rev. J. A. Stothert, in Introduction to *The Catholic Church in Scotland*, edit. F. J. S. Gordon.

pendent of rule or plan, many months might elapse before a wide district was visited, and then suddenly three or four missionaries would arrive at one house on one day. The following anecdote is probably one of many of like character. On a hot summer day in 1654, two missionaries were wandering in the Highlands, when they drew near a sheiling or rude cottage, where a farmer and his family sometimes spent the summer months. By the sheiling stood two young men, who were evidently in great distress and anxiety. Encouraged by the kindly words of the priests, they told them that their aged father lay a-dying, and without having made his will. The priests entered the sheiling, and found the old man indeed dying, and told him so. He refused to believe them, "because," he said, "I am a Catholic, and for the last seven years I have prayed fervently to God morning and evening, that He would not let me die without the help of the Sacrament. I know He has in His mercy heard and granted my prayer; but there is no priest to be got here at present, and I shall not die till I have seen one." "O, my friend," exclaimed one of the priests, "God has indeed heard your prayer, and has directed us this way, without our knowing why, in order to grant you the blessing you have so perseveringly prayed for. We are priests from Ireland, on our way to Glengarry, and we have here with us everything requisite to give you all that you need." "Out with you, my son, till I make my Confession," was the old man's reply; "thank God, my time has now come." After his confession, the happy soul received the Sacred Viaticum. Then he declared how he wished his property to be divided among

his family ; and, lastly, after receiving Extreme Unction, he gently expired.¹

All Catholics were more or less lonely men. Even when tolerated, or still more respected and loved, there were many who were never quite sure of them and their strange ways, and they were constantly liable to be misrepresented or misunderstood. They could not avoid being marked in social life, when, though present at the wedding feast or funeral solemnities, they united in the rejoicings or mournings, and heard the preaching, but withdrew before the prayer. They were observed and talked about, when, albeit timidly, they made the Sign of the Cross, or although probably dispensed from fasting, endeavoured without giving offence to abstain on a Fast Day at the Protestant host's table. What faith in God, what trust in His Holy Church was required by those who could only receive the Sacraments once or twice in the dreary year, perhaps not for years together. For those Christmastide and Eastertide came and went, and were possibly observed by their neighbours as national fasts—in any case there was no *Venite Adoremus*, no *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, with rejoicing multitudes, but there was the silent thanksgiving in the solitude of the heart. Many had never seen any other than a poverty-stricken altar, and had never heard mass said above a whisper, when two tapers just made visible the darkness of the earliest morning hour. To many, indeed, certain rites and devotions which are, as it were, the fringe of the garment of the King's Daughter in her comeliness and

¹ See Stothert's *Introduction*.

her beauty, were unheard of or unfamiliar—they had not seen an *Agnus Dei*, they had not learnt the sublime devotion of the Rosary, they could not have told what a confraternity meant, and, strange to say, the pious practice of giving alms for the masses for departed ones was unknown and was even deemed inexpedient. Father Leslie says that ere his time a Franciscan had distributed St Francis' girdle, and a zealous Dominican had introduced the Rosary, which many said with great devotion. On the subject of the attendance of Catholics at Protestant services, Father Leslie asks whether those who were converted privately might be permitted to attend the churches of heretics in order to conceal themselves better; for by this means he said very many converts would be made, though he admits that that method savours more of worldly policy than of Evangelical simplicity, and appears incompatible with the words of Christ, *Qui me confessus fuerit*, etc.¹

Many other facts we learn from Father Leslie. The people know little about Confirmation, but he considered that the time was not ripe for providing the Mission with a bishop. He says that "in the houses of the nobility the priests found wax candles, which they frequently carry with them . . . that women sometimes answer at mass . . . that the priests were frequently obliged to carry about with them the sacred vestments, which proves expensive and troublesome, and makes them to be known for priests; that the Catholics, for the most part, assist at Mass with great devotion, and complain that

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.); Records (MS.).

they have only an opportunity of hearing it thrice a year, and are scandalised when the mass is too short, and that they communicate as often as they have occasion." Confessions are heard by the priest alone with the penitent with closed doors, for the missionaries "must follow the custom of the country," for people "would not confess in the presence of others." Few Catholics, especially converts, will confess to any but learned, pious, and exemplary priests, hence they will not subject themselves to a particular one assigned them. They are "delicate and scrupulous," and "with difficulty are got to confess to anyone, but less to a particular person." "The Missioners go dressed very simply and modestly . . . the Prefect of the mission dresses better than the others, as he lives for the most part with the Marquis of Huntly, and manages his affairs. The Superior of the Jesuits dresses in a very genteel way, as also the young Jesuits who frequent the houses of the nobility."¹

The education of Catholic children was a great difficulty, for although a school had been established in 1675, first at Glengarry and then in the Island of Barra, parents "neither could nor would" send their children thither, and when they could not afford to educate them abroad they sent them to Protestant schools, or kept Protestant teachers in their houses. A great deal of money had been spent on the Highland Catholic schools, but about the year 1688, a priest admits that in seventeen or eighteen years he had not found one youth in them "fit to be sent to a college abroad." The interference of

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.) ; Records (MS.).

Government and of the Kirk with the education of the children of the gentry continued. In 1663, the Bishop of Aberdeen, with consent of the Synod, ordains that because persons of quality have sent their children beyond seas to be educated in Popish Universities, a letter should be directed to the Archbishop of St Andrews praying his Grace to interpose himself with the King, in order that "the spreading leprosy of Poperie may be restrained, that a solid course may be adopted for bringing up the youth in the Protestant religion, especially the young Marquis of Huntly, and that the children already sent abroad be speedilie reduced."¹ In 1672, the Privy Council despatched Messengers-at-Arms to apprehend the Countess of Traquhair who was "popishly affected," because she endeavoured to educate her son, the Earl of Traquhair, "in the Popish Profession," and for that purpose kept "Irving, a priest, to instruct him therein." Failing to lay hold of her ladyship, they were to summon her at the Cross of Edinburgh that she and her son might come before them, in order that they might arrange for his "education and breeding conform to Act of Parliament." In the same year, Lord Semple, who had sent his eldest son to the college at Douai, "contrair to the Council's order," was warded in Edinburgh Castle till he would consent to send his third son "to be educat in schools in Glasgow."

Superstition and witchcraft were prevalent amongst Protestants, but were banished from Catholics, and we have seen the vast number of persons who were accused

¹ *Synod Records of Aberdeen.*

of witchcraft about this period. When persons were possessed, they were brought to the priests, sometimes even by Protestants, and the evil spirit was exorcised, Prayer, Holy Water, etc., being employed.¹ In regard to the political state of the kingdom at the time of his visitation, Father Leslie says "that after the restoration for about twenty years there was no remarkable persecution of Catholics on the score of religion." "This calm and tranquility proceeds," he says, "under God from the following causes :—First, from the moderation of their governors, and, in particular, of the Earl of Rothes, Chancellor of the Kingdom, who has for maxim of his government not to use violence in matters of religion. Secondly, from the genius of the nation, which is an enemy to blood. Thirdly, from the moderation and cautions of both priests and people. Fourthly, from the inclination of the Scots to the Duke of York, for although he is a Catholic, they declare that they mean to wipe off the stains contracted by former transgressions, by their present attachment and loyalty to the Royal cause."²

Although the vile conspiracy of Titus Oates in 1678 belongs to English History, Scottish Catholics suffered from its effects, yet on the whole there was a relaxation from severe persecution about the period of Father Leslie's visitation. A momentary gleam of treacherous sunshine was at hand, to be followed soon by a dismal storm. When, early on the morning of the 10th of February 1685, the news of the death of Charles II.

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.) ; Records (MS.).

² *Ibid.*

reached Edinburgh, and when at 10 o'clock the weeping Chancellor at the city cross proclaimed "James Duke of Albany, the only and undoubted King of this realm," it was natural that the heart of every Catholic in Edinburgh should beat quick. Again, after generations, a son of Holy Church sat upon the British throne. Gradually the news spread through the land, and those who could not discern the mournful signs of those mournful times began to dream that their dark night of sorrow was drawing to the dawn. Soon there was to be a rude awaking, but only to another long and dreary day. The most was made of this brief time of hope. Labourers increased on the mission field, and in 1687 the chapel of St Ninian in the Enzie was rebuilt completely for a congregation which included 600 communicants. Numerous converts were received in both countries. "Many of them were sincere, many were not."¹

If the Catholics were lifting up their heads, Protestants of every variety, from the Anglican prelate, High, or Low, or Latitudinarian, in the comfortable Episcopal Palace of the Church of England, or in the less luxurious dwelling of a Scottish bishop, to the Cameronian hunted by moor and fen, were showing signs of that uneasiness, that peculiar nervousness which made the hand to shake and the brain to reel of even the courageous Protestant Briton, when the shadow of St Peter was suspected. Not even the King's promise in his first speech from the throne to govern according to law, and to uphold the Church of England, proved

¹ Letters (MS.).

reassuring. Civil war was preferable to the Pope, and the Duke of Monmouth, who was an exile in Brussels, and the Earl of Argyll, who was in Amsterdam, resolved to play a bold game, the one for a throne, the other for vengeance on the Royal House, and for any personal advantages which might accrue were the campaign successful.

Fergusson, the plotter, an "unworthy Scot," was a prime agent in starting the machinery of "Monmouth's Rebellion," and so early as 1680, "A Letter to a Person of Honour" concerning the "Black Box anent certain papers alleged to contain evidence of the marriage of Charles II. to Lucy Walters," and thereby rendering Monmouth legitimate, had appeared, it was said, by his instigation. But the Rebellion, apparently so alarming at first, was an utter failure. Although Monmouth was called King at Taunton, while cries of "A Monmouth, a Monmouth, the Protestant religion," rent the air at Lyme, even although he graciously received gifts of a naked sword and a pocket Bible of the authorised version from a bevy of young ladies, his triumphal career was soon terminated. On July 6th, 1685, at the Battle of Sedgemoor, he was totally defeated, and soon after was executed on Towerhill. Then the "Bloody Assize," presided over by the blasphemous and brutal Justice Jeffreys, began, when Monmouth's fellow-conspirators were butchered like sheep. In vain also had the wild children of Argyll responded to the savage war summons of the mountains, the cross of yew set on fire and steeped in the blood of a goat, "dread messenger of fate and fear"; in vain they had gathered round their

chief, for he, too, was doomed to failure, and in June he was beheaded in terms of his former attainder, when he had qualified the Test. His last words were, "I die not only a Protestant, but with a heart-hatred of Popery, Prelacy, and all superstition whatsoever." As he embraced the Scottish guillotine, he said, "This is the sweetest maiden I ever kissed, it being the means to finish my sin and misery, and is my inlet to glory, for which I long. Lord Jesus, receive me into Thy glory."

James VII. acted very indiscreetly on his accession, yet no one knew better than he did the temper of the greater part of the nation. He had seen the attempts to exclude him from the throne, and knew that the Exclusion Bill had passed the House of Commons with very little opposition. Queen Catharine of Braganza and his own wife, Maria Beatrice of Modena, were most devout and holy women, and in the chapel of the former, which was splendidly appointed, James publicly communicated. He wrote immediately to Cardinal Howard, and desired him to inform Pope Innocent XI. that he would endeavour in his first Parliament to procure the Repeal of the Penal Laws. From Rome he received good advice, which he would not take. Every letter which went from the Vatican to Whitehall recommended patience, moderation, and respect for the prejudices of the English people. Louis XIV. seems to have known the people of England better than King James, for immediately on his accession he sent him £100,000, and marched 35,000 men to the coast near Calais, with ships in case of need.

Parliament met after the accession of James. The

Test was re-enacted, an Act was passed against conventicles, and "all such as shall hereafter preach at such fanatical house or field conventicles shall be punished by death and confiscation of their goods." As usual, the possibility of death was a potent stimulant to the lovers of field meetings. For being present at twenty of these meetings, for refusing to take the Abjuration Oath, or to hear the curates preach, and for joining in the affairs of Bothwell Bridge and Aird-Moss, Margaret M'Lauchlan, a widow of sixty-three years, and Margaret Wilson, a maiden of eighteen, were sentenced to be "tyed to palisadoes fixed in the sand, within the flood mark at the mouth of the Blednoch stream, and there to stand till the flood overflowed them and drowned them." That the horrible sentence was literally carried out, there is strong, indeed all but, conclusive evidence. For transgressions similar to those for which the poor women were condemned in 1684, two hundred men and women were marched off to the Castle of Dunnottar, and in this dismal fortress on the wild coast of Kincardine they are described as "in a most lamentable condition, there being a hundred and ten of them in one vault where there is little or no daylight at all . . . men and women promiscuously together, and forty-two more in another room." They were only released from the vault to tramp the weary miles to Edinburgh, and thence many were sent off to the American plantations.

Parliament assembled on April 29th, 1686. The Earl of Moray was Royal Commissioner, the Earl of Perth was Chancellor, and both these noblemen had become Catholics. The hopes of many Catholics were rising high,

their fate hung in the balance, when on their behalf the King's "pathetic address" was made to the Estates. "We cannot be unmindful of other our innocent subjects, those of the Roman Catholic religion, who have with the hazard of their lives and fortunes been always assistant to the Crown in the wars of rebellions and usurpations, though they lay under discouragements hardly to be named. These we do heartily recommend to your care, to the end that as they have given good experience of their true loyalty and peaceable behaviour, so by your assistance they may have the protection of our laws, and that security under our Government which others of our subjects have, not suffering them to lie under obligations which their religion cannot admit of, by doing whereof you will give a demonstration of the duty and affection you have for us, and do us most acceptable service. This love we expect you will show to your brethren, as we are an indulgent father to you all."

But the appeal was in vain. In the debate a question arose as to the name to be given to the King's co-religionists. The abusive terms continually applied to them, "idolaters," "sons of Anti-Christ," "worshippers of Dagon," being impossible, Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, Member of Parliament for Haddingtonshire, a strong Protestant, while objecting to bad names, said, "though it was not suitable to the wisdom and gravity of Parliament to give them a title implying as if they were the true Church, and we but a sect, yet I wished some soft appellation with the least offence might be fallen on, and therefore I proposed it might run thus, those commonly called Roman Catholics." Lord Perth called this

“nicknaming the King,” and proposed it might run, “those subjects your Majesty has recommended to us.” Finally, the “soft appellation” Roman Catholic was decided upon. Many objected to the very mention of the Catholic religion. “There was no such religion. There was an idolatrous apostacy, which the laws punished with the halter.” The King had offered, in return for relief to Catholics, a free trade with England and an amnesty for political offences. The offer of free trade was an insult. “Our fathers sold their King for southern gold, and we still lie under the reproach of that foul bargain. Let it not be said of us that we have sold our God!” The Episcopalians, led by the Bishops of Galloway, Ross, and Dunkeld, were conspicuous in the opposition, and their language was not choice, because “idolaters are ranked among the very chief of evil-doers; and John foretells it as that which God requires of, and approves in, the kings of the earth, in times of reformation that they shall hate the Babylonish whore, and make her desolate and naked, and shall burn her with fire. . . . But the penal laws were enacted merely for the safety of the religion of the country against Papists.” A Bill was prepared, and with difficulty accepted by the Lords of the Articles, after a debate of three weeks. It provided that those “who are of the Romish communion shall be under the protection of his Majesty’s Government and laws, and shall not, for the exercise of their religion in private—all public worship being hereby expressly excluded—be under the danger of sanguinary and other punishments contained in any laws or Acts of Parliament.” This measure was far indeed from coming

up to the King's demands, but the Estates either would not pass it at all, or would pass it with great restrictions and modifications.

"While the contest lasted, the anxiety in London was intense. Every report, every line from Edinburgh, was eagerly devoured. . . . At the most critical moment orders were sent to the post office that the bags from Scotland should be transmitted to Whitehall. During a whole week not a single private letter from beyond the Tweed was delivered in London. . . . It was noticed, with great satisfaction, that after every express from the north the enemies of the Protestant religion looked more and more gloomy. At length, to the general joy, it was announced that the struggle was over, that the Government had been unable to carry its measure, and that the Lord High Commissioner had adjourned the Parliament."¹

The King was defeated, and in an evil hour he had recourse to his prerogative. He commanded the Privy Council to permit Catholics the free exercise of their religion. In a warrant dated 25th September 1686, he appointed the great room in the Palace of Holyrood, "designed by his brother for a Council Chamber, to be fitted up as his private chapel."² Father Richard Hay, Canon Regular of St Augustine, writes to a friend in the Scots College at Paris that "the chapel was opened on St Andrew's Day 1686, with ceremonies such as they were (*telles quelles*)."² Indeed, ceremonious ritual and ecclesiastical music were little known in Scotland at this time. Priests were thankful if they might whisper the

¹ Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 111.

² *Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis*.

sacred services with bated breath, locked doors, and feeble lights, venturing only on the barest essentials of ritual. The good Canon Regular's description of the High Mass sung in King James's chapel on Christmas night of this year is not surprising. He writes :—"It was ill sung by Father Abercromby, a Benedictine. There was no deacon nor sub-deacon—in Scotland they have not got so far as that. The choir was composed of a man who passes here for musician although he has neither voice nor any knowledge of plain song, of Mdle. Alexandre, and two girls whom she brought from France, with another woman of the same nation, the wife of a sadler here. Vespers were sung after dinner, but in miserable style ; I say nothing of the defects in the singing, but the rubrics were very ill-kept, the less said about them the better. The musician has twenty pounds a year stipend ; his occupation consists in interrupting the devotion of the people by singing during Low Mass ' Regina cœli lætare, alleluia,' or a verse of some hymn, according to his own fancy."¹

On December 3rd, 1687, James VII. proceeded still further, and issued the following warrant regarding the Chapel Royal of Holyrood. "Whereas we have resolved that our Chapel at Holyroodhouse (formerly made use of as the Parish Church of the Canongate) be repaired, and put in order with all possible expedition, to the end it may be fitted in all things for being our own Catholick Chappell where divine service may be performed, and likewise be made capable of the ceremonies and

¹ See Father Richard Hay, writing from Rosslyn in 1687 to the Scots Col. Paris. Article in *The Month*, January 1890, by Oswald Hunter-Blair, O.S.B.

solemnities of the most ancient and most noble Order of the Thistle. . . ."¹ Some months previously the magistrates of Edinburgh had been ordered to deliver up the keys of the Chapel Royal. The congregation were now turned out, their lofts and pews were burned, and a new church, still known as the Canongate church, was built without delay. A cargo, such as had not approached Scottish shores for many a day, was landed at Leith, and the bewildered citizens heard it consisted of "an altar, vestments, images, priests and their apurants." Probably they would have been more horrified had they known that the images were not, like those of poor King James VI., intended to decorate "the place where Wee should sit," but for the due veneration of the faithful. Effigies of our Saviour, His twelve apostles, and other admirable pieces of sculpture were erected in the Chapel Royal; eight Knights of the Thistle were created, and stalls for twelve were prepared, these and the King's throne being "all of oak and the finest masters in carved work all over Europe employed in it. The floor was finely paved with marble, a fine organ was also erected. . . ." For the support of the chapel the King granted from his own private resources £200 a year, £200 a year for the Highland mission, £200 a year for the secular missionaries, £200 a year for the Jesuit missionaries, and £200 a year each for the (Scots) Colleges of Rome, Paris, and Douai. A school, superintended by Jesuits, was established at Holyrood, to which children of all sects were invited gratis. A printing press was also

¹ *A System of Heraldry*, by Alexander Nisbet.

set up where the Jesuits, who were "worse than Papists" and were esteemed "locusts of the bottomless pit," printed Catholic books. Rare indeed are the volumes left to us from that press. Its career was transitory, and doubtless most of its contents perished in the sacrilegious conflagrations of the Revolution. Amongst the works appear *A Short and Plain Way to the Faith and Church*, a translation from the Latin of the *Imitation of Christ*, and from the French of *The Faith of the Catholic Church concerning the Eucharist*, by M. Arnauld; and amongst the fine reprints is still to be seen Dryden's poem, *The Hind and the Panther*. It is pathetic to read the title-page of a book from the press of Holyrood, its date, MDCLXXXVII., testifying that its existence was but one amongst the many hopeless, dying efforts of James VII. to revive the faith of his fathers in a land which had done its utmost to lay that faith in the dust. And so the King proceeded, while Protestants were dismayed, or horrified, or were quietly nursing their wrath and abiding their time, and wise Catholics beheld, with hopes marred by misgivings, his wild audacities. The citizens of Edinburgh saw with shuddering Jesuits walk on the street in their habits, and the dwellers in the Canongate heard the Angelus bell rung morning, noon, and night. Both Catholics and Protestants knew well that no time could have been found less propitious for Catholic emancipation than the present. On October 18th, 1685, Louis XIV. had revoked the Edict of Nantes, and 400,000 Protestants were then driven into exile. 50,000, lashed into furious Protestantism, had arrived in Great Britain, and were welcomed as living proofs of Catholic tyranny and intolerance.

The few Huguenots who came to Scotland were hailed as martyrs, and were gladly allowed to settle close to Edinburgh.

About this time it was observed that certain Scots had mysterious business at the Hague, and among those who formed a sort of Privy Council for the Prince of Orange were Baillie of Jerviswood, whose father was executed after the Rye House Plot, William Carstares, afterwards ruler of the Kirk of Scotland, and Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

James VII. now proclaimed his determination to grant universal toleration in religion to his subjects in Great Britain, but for this the time was not yet ripe, and no fewer than four Indulgences were issued before they were taken advantage of by moderate Presbyterians.

In conformity with the policy he was pursuing in England, his Majesty suspended all penal laws and political disabilities imposed upon nonconformists, and all his subjects "were allowed to meet and serve God in their own way and manner, either in private houses or in chapels . . . on condition that nothing disloyal should be taught on these occasions . . . all field conventicles were still prohibited." With a free conscience moderate Presbyterians accepted this comprehensive Indulgence, but the Cameronians held rigidly aloof. To them toleration was a horrible sin, and toleration which was to be extended to the children of the man of sin more than horrible. They would not even pray for the King, because to pray for any person predestined to perdition was to interfere with the Eternal Decrees of the Almighty. We read of three poor labouring men who were arrested by an officer

near Glasgow, and were asked to pray for the King, James VII. They refused to do so except under the condition that he was one of the elect, whereupon they were blindfolded and shot dead on the spot.

John Nisbett of Hardhill, who had long distinguished himself by fighting against the Government on the battlefield, and praying against it at the Conventicle, was executed in 1685, but there remained one more dangerous as a stirrer up of sedition than he. This was James Renwick, now leader of the Cameronians. On May 28th, 1686, he had published another Declaration at Sanquhar "against the usurpation of a bloody Papist, advancing himself to the throne,"—Government had been on his track for long, and at last he was hunted down.

On the 17th of February 1688 he was hanged at Edinburgh. He was the last to die in the cause of the Covenant, and he declared on the scaffold that he was to lay down his life "For disowning the usurpation and tyranny of James, Duke of York. For preaching that it was unlawful to pay the cess expressly enacted for bearing down the Gospel. For preaching that it was lawful for people to carry arms for defending themselves in their meeting for the persecuted Gospel Ordinances." "I think," he continued, "a testimony for these is worth many lives; and if I had ten thousand, I would think it little enough to lay them all down for the same."

The blessings which would have followed the King's Indulgences were practically annulled, because they were, as he loudly proclaimed, granted "by our sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power." Nor

were those who hated the despotism of the present comforted with brighter prospects for the future, when, on the 2nd of January 1688, the Queen's pregnancy was announced, and the 9th was ordered to be observed as a day of thanksgiving in the diocese of Edinburgh. This was bad news for Protestant England and Scotland. Both nations were relying so trustfully in the certainty of the succession of Protestant Mary and Protestant Anne. Scotland had been fully alive to the importance of the solidly Protestant marriage of James's daughter Mary to the Prince of Orange. Then the city of Edinburgh paused in the midst of the Killing Time, and celebrated the occasion by erecting a Temple of Hymen, constructed of oranges, at the Market Cross, wherein the provost and as many nobles and bailies as it could contain entered, and drank cheerfully to the health of the bridegroom and the bride, while the citizens on the street rejoiced in showers of sweetmeats and conduits flowing with wine. Now, if a Catholic Prince of Wales should arrive, their orange grove and their rejoicings had been in vain.

A priest, Thomas Nicolson, who was ere long to fulfil an important part in the Scottish Church, said, "If it pleased God to give the King a son, he would be the best missionary that had come to Scotland for many years."

The history of the nursery of James VII. and Maria Beatrice had heretofore been a very sad one. Four times had Maria Beatrice become a mother, and the graves of all the children she had borne were growing green. Catherina Laura, Isabella, who lived to be five years' old, Charles, and Charlotte Maria, royal babes whose names are scarcely known to history, were all gone.

Now, many were the prayers offered up for the unborn heir of the throne. In Edinburgh "our Gracious Queen Mary" and the future James VIII. were prayed for, the bells were rung, and Archbishop Paterson of Glasgow said in his sermon for the occasion, "that her Majesty had obtained the blessing of heaven for her piety, being oft times six hours on her knees at prayer." "A great lie," observed Sir James Lauder of Fountainhall, "she being too much taken up with Court affairs to have so long time for private devotions."

More confident than ever in the future, in a headlong, reckless fashion, defying discretion and common sense, trifling with the liberties of his subjects, King James continued his endeavours to bring back Great Britain to the Catholic Church. In vain Pope Innocent XI., in vain Cardinal Howard opposed his madness. By his sole authority the King admitted Catholics into the places of highest official trust, from which they had been long excluded in England. They now appeared in the House of Lords and in the Privy Council, the Savoy Palace became a Jesuit College, Benedictines, Carmelites, and Franciscans walked in their habits on the streets of London, a Papal Nuncio arrived at Windsor, crucifixes and rosaries were bought and sold, and the King assisted at High Mass in his royal pomp in the chapels at St James and Whitehall. The rage of Protestant England was only slumbering. The birth of a son on the 10th of June¹ 1688 encouraged the King in his exploits. Those

¹ The Feast of St Margaret of Scotland was removed by Pope Innocent XII., in 1693, from the day of her death to the 10th of June, at the instance of King James VII.

who did not desire a Catholic Prince of Wales made up their minds that the Queen had not had a child at all, and that the story of his birth was an imposture to exclude the Protestant princesses from the throne.

But the hour of the Revolution was "winging its silent flight." The day of retribution was at hand, and it was to be a terrible one. When, in April 1688, the King reissued the Indulgence, he ordered that it should be read in all the churches of England, whereupon William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and six of the Anglican bishops drew up a petition to the King "not to insist upon" reading the declaration. His Majesty answered the bishops by committing them to the Tower. On the 30th of June the seven prelates were acquitted, and England went delirious with joy. Whig and Tory, Episcopalian and Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist, forgot their mutual hatred for the sake of their only visible bond of union—hatred of the Catholic Church; all met in one embrace in their transports of felicity, and every window in London was illuminated by candles in rows of seven, the central taper representing the Primate, while waxen popes, in robes and tiaras, putting Guy Faux to shame, blazed in the crowded streets. Exasperated by the acquittal of the bishops, James brought over the battalions of Tyreconnel from Ireland, and thereby further and further alienated the English. The Revolution was at hand, and, when the King was preparing the nation for the Revolution, he himself was not prepared. On that very 30th of June when the seven bishops were acquitted,

a deputation left London for the Hague. They bore an instrument, the purport of which was to invite William, Prince of Orange Nassau, the nephew and son-in-law of King James, to come to the rescue of England. William accepted the invitation, and on the 5th of November, day ever dear in the annals of Protestantism, favoured by a "Protestant east wind," he landed at Torbay with a fleet of 700 sail and 1000 Dutchmen. Then only did the King take the alarm. He called up his Scottish troops, but it was too late. He resolved to fly. First, however, he sent off his wife and the baby Prince of Wales, James Francis Edward, known after his father's death as King James VIII., the Old Pretender, the Chevalier de St George. Two special French friends, the Count de Lauzun and St Victor, had crossed the channel expressly to assist in the flight. On a wild December night, Queen Maria Beatrice, disguised as a washerwoman (a part which the patrician Italian could ill play), a nurse carrying her six months' old babe, who slept profoundly, rolled up to resemble a bundle of linen, left Whitehall in the dark, and crossed the stormy waters of the Thames in an open boat, the rain pouring, and a wintry wind blowing hard. A common coach had been ordered to wait for the Queen, but by some accident it had been delayed for an hour. "During this time she took refuge under the walls of an old church at Lambeth, turning her eyes, streaming with tears, sometimes on the Prince . . . and sometimes to the innumerable lights of the city, amidst the glimmerings of which she in vain explored the palace in which her husband was left, and started at every sound she

heard from thence." ¹ At length the coach came, and with her small but faithful escort she drove straight to Gravesend, sailed immediately, and early on Tuesday morning, December 11th, arrived at Calais. The royal fugitive and her unconscious babe were kindly welcomed by Louis XIV., and on December 28th his Majesty, who had proceeded to meet them in characteristic style, with a hundred coaches and six, escorted them to the chateau of St Germain en Laye, henceforth the home of their exile.

In the darkness of a stormy winter night, King James stole off from Whitehall to Sheerness, and, as he was crossing the Thames, he threw the Great Seal into the waters. He was caught and taken to Rochester. From thence he successfully escaped, and on Christmas Day landed at Ambleteuse, on the coast of France. To St Germain en Laye he was grandly welcomed by Louis XIV., and there his gentle and beautiful wife, who had preceded him at the chateau only a few hours, gave her unhappy husband a rapturous greeting.

On February 10th, 1689, Mary, Princess of Orange, left the port of the Brill to join her conquering husband in England, and on February 12th arrived at the Nore. Most recorders of her arrival express horror at the exuberant joy with which the cruel daughter ran from room to room at Whitehall, all forgetful that a few days ago that palace had been her father's, only triumphing that now it was her own. Yet in the last letter Mary had received from the father she had deserted, and

¹ Dalrymple's *Memoirs*.

whose throne she had usurped, she had read: “. . . I must believe you will be still as good a daughter to a father that has always loved you so tenderly, and that has never done the least thing to make you doubt it . . . you shall still find me kind to you if you desire it.”

“God help me, whom can I trust? My own children have forsaken me! Oh, if my enemy only had cursed me, I could have borne it!” was now that father's bitter cry.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT.

“Speak, citizens, for England; who’s your King?”

—*King John.*

ON Ash Wednesday, the 13th of February 1689, William, the son of William II. of Orange and of Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I. of England, and Mary, daughter of James II. of England and of Anne Hyde, were proclaimed in London King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland. Thus was almost completed the Revolution. It is celebrated by the Presbyterian historian as “that adorable and never-to-be-forgotten step of divine Providence, the glorious Revolution . . . which gave an effectual check to such slavish principles and practices, and absolute and arbitrary government, and brought an end to the hardships and persecutions of Presbyterians . . .”

A great meeting of Presbyterians had already taken place, and “the representation of the grievances of many thousands in the Church and Kingdom of Scotland” was prepared for the Prince of Orange. This address was followed by a Petition, in which the petitioners very plainly express their desires. They

demand that "a free Parliament or Convention" be called, "and that no bishop or evil counsellor . . . sit to be our judges, . . . that when the Parliament sits down, the office of bishops above pastors, . . . be assoiled, a yoke which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear . . . the same having no warrant from God's word, being contrary to our solemn covenants and vows, and which our predecessors at the bringing in of the first bishops . . . did hold forth to be the egg of which antichrist and the man of sin was clected at first, and by which, as a ladder and steps, he mounted up to the Popedom, withal denouncing a curse upon those who should build this Jericho again. . . ."

In January, 1689, "a frequent meeting" of ministers was held in Edinburgh, and an address was presented to the Prince. His Highness was entreated, "for Christ's sake," that, "in commiseration of this torn and afflicted church, you will be pleased to take such proper and effectual methods as God shall direct unto you, for procuring our deliverance from that yoke of Prelacy, which, being obtruded without, yea, and against the consent of this church, and contrary to the genius of the nation, neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, and the restoration of the Presbyterial church government, and of those ministers yet alive to their charges who were so unjustly thrust from them, and the settlement of other Presbyterian ministers who are or may be hereafter by the respective flocks orderly called, as being the most promising remedy against Popery and slavery, and against the continuance of our otherwise incurable distractions, that all things being done for the house of the God of

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Heaven . . . this poor weather-beaten church may at length, through God's blessing, arrive at a safe and quiet harbour. . . ." The ministers could not have stated their case, or have expressed their desires more clearly.

On March 14th, 1689, a Convention of Estates met in Edinburgh. Letters by King James and the Prince of Orange were read, but before opening the King's letter the Convention declared that, notwithstanding anything contained in it, "they are a free and lawful meeting of the Estates, and will continue undissolved until they settle and secure the Protestant Religion, the Government, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom."

On the 4th of April, a resolution, prepared by John Dalrymple, Master of Stair, was passed by the Estates. It declared that James VII. "hath **FOREFAULTED** the right to the Crown, and the throne is become **VACANT**."

On the 11th of April, the Estates agreed to offer the Crown to William and Mary, and drew up a Claim of Right, in which the abolition of Prelacy, as being "a great and unsupportable grievance and trouble to this nation," was formally demanded. The further destination of the Crown was, in the first place, to the heirs of Mary; next to her sister Anne and her heirs; and thirdly, to the heirs of King William. Besides the Claim of Right, certain "Articles of Grievances" were drawn up. Among the Grievances were most of the Acts of the Parliament of 1685; the Act of 1669, which made the monarch head of the church; the imposition of customs or imposts by royal authority; the levying a standing army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament; the marriage of a sovereign

with a Papist. At the close of the sederunt one of the bishops, according to custom, was about to offer a prayer. A baron warned him that if he now prayed for James as King it would be esteemed treason. The bishop got over the difficulty by saying the Lord's Prayer. Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie and the Master of Stair were nominated as representatives of the Three Estates to present to the new King and Queen the Claim, the Grievances, and an Oath to be taken by their Majesties. On the 11th of May, in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, William and Mary took the Oath, which was read to them by Argyll, in the presence of a number of the English nobility and all the prominent Scotsmen then in London.¹

The very day that the Claim of Right was agreed to, William and Mary were proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh, and, on the 13th of April, the clergy were commanded to pray publicly for the new sovereigns, and to read from their pulpits the proclamation dethroning King James.

The Convention adjourned in May, and on the 5th of June reassembled as a Parliament, with the Duke of Hamilton as Lord Commissioner. Whether they sat as a Convention or a Parliament, the Estates were in fear and trembling, and many anticipated that every moment might be their last, for a bomb from the Castle, which was held by the Duke of Gordon for King James, with a garrison of 160 men, would effectually

¹ See Mackay's *Memoir of Sir James Dalrymple, First Viscount Stair*.

dissolve the session. The Duke was solemnly summoned by two heralds to surrender the Castle, and a proclamation was issued prohibiting any one to converse with or assist him. The Duke desired the heralds to inform the Convention that he held his command by warrant from their common master ; and as he gave them money to drink King James's health, he observed that when they came to declare loyal subjects traitors, with the King's coats on their backs, they ought in decency to turn them.

The agents of King James in Scotland, John Graham, Viscount Dundee, and Colin Lindsay, Earl of Balcarras, sat in the Convention. Suddenly Dundee announced to the assemblage that he had heard there was a plot on hand to assassinate himself and Sir George Mackenzie, the unpopular advocate of King James, and forthwith he left the Parliament House. Dundee was on the aggressive, and swarms of westland whigs, who had been hidden about the city in cellars and garrets, were now brought forth, and set in fighting array. Meanwhile Dundee, in full view of all, rode along the northern bank of the Nor Loch, then known as the Lang Dykes, now as Princes Street, scrambled up the precipice, and held a mysterious interview with the Duke of Gordon. Dundee turned towards Stirling, and the armed citizens, assisted by regular troops from King William, began the siege of the Castle. The Castle was bravely held, and a species of telegraph was established by the garrison with their friends in the city. From one of the mountainous houses of the High Street a white cloth was hung out when all was well, a black one when things went ill. If it was necessary to give more detailed information, a board was held up, inscribed

with capital letters, so large that they could, by the help of a telescope, be read on the ramparts of the Castle. Agents, laden with letters and fresh provisions, managed, in various disguises and by various shifts, to cross the Nor Loch, and to scramble up the Castle rock. At length, however, supplies failed, and the brave garrison honourably capitulated on the 14th of June.¹

The Estates still sat as a Convention, when, on the 25th of April, the Presbyterian form of Church Government was restored, the ministers who had been deprived since 1661 were to return to their charges, and the Westminster Confession of Faith was ratified. In this great readjustment no mention whatever was made of the Covenants. Their brief, fierce reign was over for ever.

On the 16th of October 1690, the first General Assembly of the new Establishment met. The last Assembly had been dispersed thirty-seven years before by Cromwell. The Presbyterians had certainly got all they asked for, but matters were not yet settled down. The ministers who had submitted to Episcopacy were now ejected by law, and many churches were vacant. The Cameronians had been the first to rise up in an armed multitude, and on Christmas Day, 1688, taking the law into their own hands, they began to turn out the Curates from their manses. These ejections were called the Rabbling of the Curates. The unfortunate men were not only driven from house and home, but their cellars and larders, never perhaps too plentifully stocked, were

¹ See *Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh*, Bannatyne Club, and Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 314.

robbed, their furniture destroyed, and their wives and children turned out of doors in the snow. They were then sometimes exhibited as malefactors in the market-place, and their gowns were torn over their heads, while their manse doors were locked, and the rabblers carried off the keys. The rabbling was ruthlessly proceeded with in many parishes, and 200 curates were ejected. In fact, all who at the Restoration had turned Episcopalians, in obedience to the royal mandate, were in sore straits. Arthur Ross was now Archbishop of St Andrews, John Paterson Archbishop of Glasgow, and Alexander Rose Bishop of Edinburgh. When the Revolution was imminent, on the 3rd of November 1688, the bishops drew up a letter to King James. Addressing him as "the darling of Heaven," they proceed: "We magnify the Divine mercy in blessing your Majesty with a son, and us with a Prince, and pray Heaven may bless and preserve him to sway your royal sceptre after you; and that he may inherit, with your dominions, the illustrious and heroic virtues of his august and most serene parents. We are amazed to hear of an invasion from Holland, which excites our prayers for an universal repentance from all orders of men, that God may yet spare His people, preserve your royal person, prevent the effusion of Christian blood, and give such success to your Majesty's arms, that all who invade your just and undoubted rights, and disturb or interrupt the peace of your realms, may be disappointed and clothed with shame, so that on your royal head the crown may still flourish; and as, by the grace of God, we shall preserve in ourselves a firm and unshaken loyalty, so we shall be careful and zealous to

promote in all your subjects an intemerable and steadfast allegiance to your Majesty, as an essential part of their religion, and of the glory of our holy profession; not doubting but that God, in His great mercy, who hath so often preserved and delivered your Majesty, will still preserve and deliver you, by giving you the hearts of your subjects and the necks of your enemies." The King duly thanked the bishops "of that Protestant loyal church you are members of."

Bishop Rose soon after set off for London, only to find on his arrival that the King had fled, and the Prince of Orange had arrived. The bishop first visited the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Sancroft, who told him that "matters were very dark, and the cloud so thick or gross that they could not see through it. They knew not well what to do for themselves, and far less what advice to give to others." Dr Compton, Bishop of London, said to Bishop Rose: "My Lord, you see that the King, having thrown himself upon the water, must keep himself a-swimming with one hand; the Presbyterians have joined him closely, and offer to support him; and therefore he cannot cast them off, unless he could see how other ways he can be served. And the King bids me tell you that he now knows the state of Scotland much better than he did when he was in Holland; for, while there, he was made believe that Scotland generally all over was Presbyterian, but now he sees that the great body of the nobility and gentry are for Episcopacy, and 'tis the trading and inferior sort that are for Presbytery, wherefore he bids me tell you that if you will undertake to serve him, to the purpose that he is served here in

England, he will take you by the hand, support the Church and Order, and throw off the Presbyterians." To this offer the Bishop of Edinburgh answered sturdily : " My Lord, I cannot but humbly thank the Prince for this frankness and offer ; but, withal, I must tell your Lordship that when I came from Scotland, neither my brethren nor I apprehended any such revolution as I have now seen in England ; and, therefore, I neither was, nor could be, instructed by them what answer to make to the Prince's offer. And therefore what I say is not in their name, but only my private opinion, which is, that I truly think they will not serve the Prince so as he is served in England, that is (as I take it), to make him their King, or give their suffrage for his being King. And though as to this matter I can say nothing in their name, and as from them, yet for myself I must say, that, rather than do so, I will abandon all the interest that either I have or may expect to have in Britain." Having consulted certain magnates if his address was likely to meet with acceptance or success, " if it did not compliment the Prince upon his descent to deliver us from popery and slavery," the bishop was told that these compliments were " absolutely necessary." The good man's interview with the Prince was brief but disastrous, and is told in his own words : " And upon my being admitted to the Prince's presence, he came three or four steps forward from his company, and prevented me by saying : ' My Lord, are you going for Scotland ? ' My reply was : ' Yes, sir, if you have any commands for me.' Then he said : ' I hope you will be kind to me, and follow the example of England.' Wherefore, being somewhat

difficulted how to make a mannerly and discreet answer without entangling myself, I readily replied: 'Sir, I will serve you so far as law, reason, or conscience will allow me.' How this answer pleased I cannot well tell, but it seems the limitations and conditions of it were not acceptable, for instantly the Prince, without saying anything more, turned away from me, and went back to his company." The greater part of the Scottish Episcopalians refused allegiance to William and Mary, and their ministers declined to pray for them as King and Queen. The ministers were accordingly suspended, and with their flocks they suffered severely.

William was to the Jacobites, as the adherents of King James were now called, "the Dutch tyrant," and their attitude towards him is indicated in the ejaculation, "May the gods hurl thee in confusion to Tartarus, to the infernal spirits of the Stygian Lake!"

Meanwhile their exiled monarch's cause seemed doomed, and the times were dark and stormy for all, and uneasy for the two strangers on the usurped throne. The immediate consequences of the Revolution had been war with Louis XIV. of France, and it was a question for Great Britain to decide whether to fight against the French King or to restore his friend James II. The former alternative was chosen, battle after battle was fought, many a field was lost by William, and finally, in September 1697, the Peace of Ryswick was concluded, and Louis XIV. agreed to acknowledge William as King of Great Britain. In his extremity, King James had turned to Catholic Ireland. In 1689, he failed in the great Siege of Londonderry, and on July 1st, 1690, was totally defeated by

William in the Battle of the Boyne. On May 19th, 1692, the fleet of forty-four sail, which Louis XIV. had prepared for the invasion of England on behalf of James, was defeated by the combined English and Dutch fleets, under Admiral Russel, at La Hogue, in the north of France. In Scotland failure and loss had been the portion of the followers of the unfortunate monarch ever since the Revolution. When Lord Dundee left the Convention in the summer of 1689, he received a summons to appear, and to answer for having held intercourse with the Duke of Gordon, "an intercommuned Catholic." The summons he disregarded, and, proceeding to the mountains, he rallied the Highland clans for King James. On July 27th, the troops of William, under General Hugh Mackay, were totally defeated by Dundee in the Pass of Killiecrankie. The victory, which was complete, was in vain, for the heroic champion of the Stuarts was mortally wounded by a bullet in the armpit. As he fell from his horse to the ground he was caught by a man, and was able to gasp, "How goes the day?" "Well for King James," answered his assistant, "but I am sorry for your lordship." "If it is well for him," answered the dying man, "it matters the less for me." Very soon after these last words, "Great Dundee" died. He had declared that he was going "where the spirit of Montrose should conduct him." Early in the morning of July 27th, at the very moment when Dundee breathed his last, his spirit is said to have appeared to his friend Lord Balcarras as he lay in bed, a prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh. The spirit drew back the bed curtains,

gazed on Balcarras silently and sorrowfully, glided towards the mantelpiece, and then vanished away.

To the adherents of the fallen dynasty Dundee was "the great hero, terrible in the dust of battle, mighty in spirit and in arms, the gallant son of Mars."¹ To the Covenanters he was "Bloody Clavers," and since the Battle of Drumclog they had hated him with a deadly hatred.

Government early made amends for their defeat at the Battle of Killiecrankie. They had formed the wild followers of Richard Cameron into a regiment, and utilised them, on the understanding that the special object of the soldiers was "to recover and establish the work of the Reformation . . . in opposition to Popery, Prelacy, and arbitrary power." On August 21st, the Cameronians gallantly defended Dunkeld, and though their Lieutenant-Colonel, William Cleland, poet and warrior, fell, they were victorious over 5000 Highlanders. On the 1st of May, 1690, there was a fight at Cromdale, when 300 Jacobites were slain and 100 captured by Mackay, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland.² Of the Jacobite force, only about 150 gentlemen, Scots and English, now remained, and these coming to terms, were sent to France, where in foreign campaigns they were to win a brilliant name for heroism and chivalry. The last place in the three kingdoms that held out for King James VII. was the Island of the

¹ See *The Grameid*, an heroic poem descriptive of the Campaign of Viscount Dundee in 1689. By James Philip of Almericlose.

² Mackay laid down at Inverlochy the fortress, named after his master, Fort-William.

Bass. There, early in June 1691, were imprisoned four young Jacobite officers, captured at Cromdale. These young gentlemen observed that, on the arrival of vessels with supplies, most of the garrison went to assist at the landing. On one occasion, when the inmates of the fortress were thus employed, they seized their opportunity, shut the gates, and found themselves in possession of one of the strongest fortresses in Scotland. On this bleak and desolate Bass Rock they passed a romantic and picturesque time, and, having received ammunition and provisions from France, employed themselves in making plundering excursions to the coast, captured sheep on the Isle of May, and seized trading vessels. Not till April, 1694, did the gallant little garrison capitulate, and most of its occupants sailed for France.¹

When the news of the flight of King James reached Edinburgh, in December 1688, great was the shock, terrible the dismay of the Catholic citizens. The state of matters is thus described :—"Scarce had the news of what was going on in England, and of the Prince of Orange's arrival at London, reached Edinburgh, when the people in general became so unruly that persons in power were not able to keep them within the bounds of their duty, especially after the King's troops had been called to England. It was easy to see from the countenances and discourses of the people that a tempest was gathering against the Roman Catholics." "Accordingly, on an evening in December 1688, a number of journeymen and apprentices began to parade the

¹ See *Memoirs of Blackader*, Appendix.

streets, calling aloud to the citizens to proceed to the reformation of the kingdom and of the city." "In a short time the mob, to the number of 700, assisted by the company of regular forces, which served for the city guard, and by the trained bands of the city, consisting of 600, proceeded to the Abbey, and began their hellish work by assaulting the King's palace, which was guarded by forty soldiers only, under the command of Captain Wallace, whose company alone remained in Scotland, the rest of the regular forces being gone to England to oppose the invasion. Captain Wallace defended the gates manfully for a while, but, having but a handful of men against such a number, he was soon overpowered and obliged to fly, and abandon the palace to the rage of the multitude, which immediately rushed in, and broke and defaced everything in the King's domestic chapel, and threw all over the windows into the outer court. They then went to the Abbey Church, which had been repaired in the inside at a great expense, and was almost completed. Here they broke down all the ornaments in the same manner, and carried all to the outer court, where they threw all into one heap, and setting fire to it they consumed at once books, ornaments, and vestments; some of the nobility standing by as spectators, and countenancing the rabble all the while. This being done the mob rifled all the houses of the Catholics in the town, suburbs, and neighbourhood, and what they omitted that night they accomplished the three or four days following. The Chancellor left the city that day. His house in town was full of very good and valuable furniture, some of which was burned, but the greatest part became a prey to

the mob, each one carrying off what he could lay his hands on.”¹ His cellars also were full of very good wine, and partaking freely thereof the antipapal zeal of the robbers was strengthened. “The rabble made the strictest search for priests and altar utensils, but as this event had been foreseen, and as it was night this circumstance favoured their escape. . . .”² Other Catholic houses were violently invaded at this time. One, evidently a destroyer, writes—“. . . The united societies . . . thought it some way belonged to us . . . to go to all Popish houses and destroy their monuments of idolatry, with their priest’s robes, and to apprehend and put in prison themselves; which was done at the Cross of Dumfreis and other places.” To the house of Lord Traquhair they proceeded “in frost and snow, and found a great deal of Romish wares there, but wanted the cradle, Mary and the Babe, and the Priest’s robe. . . .” Finally, they found “two trunks locked. . . . They broke up the coffers, wherein they found a golden cradle, with Mary and the Babe in her bosom; in the other trunk the priest’s robes, which they brought all to the Cross of Peebles, with a great deal of Popish books, and many other things of great value, all Romish wares, and burnt them there.” In the “Inventar of Popish Trinkets . . . all solemnly burnt at the Cross of Peebles” it is pitiful to read such items as “Mary and the Babe in a case most curiously wrought in a kind of pearl,” “The Queen of Peace curiously drawn,” “fine vestments of priests in velvet and silk,” more than a hundred books, “many of

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.); Records (MS.).

² *Ibid.*

them with silver clasps," and the like. From the wreck of the chapel at Holyrood a Remonstrance and incense boat were rescued, and have found a safe and sacred home in the chapel of St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh ; while a chalice and silver hand-bell were taken to Preshome. Despite the vigilant search made for priests, the narrator of the Edinburgh riot tells us that few priests were taken in the city after the rabble left Holyrood. "Mr Dunbar and Mr George Gordon escaped to the Castle which was held for the King by the Duke of Gordon. Mr Dunbar afterwards went north to Gordon Castle, where he continued in safety for a while, . . . soon after he was confided to the custody of the governor of Gordon Castle, without the liberty of speaking or writing to any one. Dr Nicolson, about midnight, was obliged to change his quarters, and to pass through the middle of the mob, whose fury was not then in the least abated. They were then busy in carrying books, vestments, and pictures, etc., to a great fire, which they had made in the High Street. They walked in a kind of procession, and he who was at their head carried a crucifix in his hand, and was surrounded by large troops of women and boys with lighted torches in their hands, and thus they proceeded with barbarous festivity, testifying their joy with huzzas and loud acclamations. Dr Nicolson went to the west country and joined Lord Dunfermline and others who formed a party for the King. He was apprehended, however, soon after with the Lord Chancellor, and after four or five months' imprisonment, first in Stirling Castle and then at Edinburgh, was set at liberty, his friends becoming surety for him that he

should leave the country never to return again, and went over to Dunkirk, where he staid sometime, was Confessor to the English nuns, and employed himself in representing the distressed state of the religious and political affairs of the nation, and in procuring some relief to the poor Missioners and Catholics. Mr Burnet made his escape to Leith, leaving his house, books, and furniture as they stood ; but he it was who saved from the hands of the mob the chalice, Ostensory, and Incensory belonging to the King's chapel, . . . these he carried with him as being the most valuable, but was obliged to abandon his own altar utensils to the fury of the mob. His intention was to cross the ferry immediately, and to proceed with all expedition to the north in order to prevent the report of the tumult, and to put friends on their guard, lest other towns should follow the example of Edinburgh, as they did, though they had not so much matter to work on. But as it was night he could get no boat, and was forced to remain at Leith till towards 4 o'clock of the morning, when he was informed that the rabble were on their way to Leith. This obliged him to retire to the fields, where he remained till daybreak in that frosty season, when he hired a boat at Newhaven, and crossed the ferry, and immediately took a horse. He had not left Kirkaldy half-an-hour when the rabble followed him half-a-mile out of town. He proceeded without further molestation till he came to Montrose, from whence he had not departed half-an-hour very early in the morning, when the Baillies were at his lodging in search of him. In the end he arrived safe at Speyside, in the lands of the Duke of Gordon. There he joined

Mr Alexander Lesly. They lay a whole month together, night and day, on the heather in the open air, without coming near a house. They staid two months more in two cottages without appearing in the day-time; and from November 1689 to March 1690, they lived in a hut built of rough stones without any cement, where wind and snow came in betwixt every stone, and many times they were all covered with snow in the morning. This may serve as a specimen of the sufferings and distress of the rest. The Missioners in the north skulked in private families till the spring, when Viscount Dundee appearing with a small party for the King, and drawing towards the North, the Prince of Orange's forces followed him, when they began to search for priests and sent to prison all those they apprehended. The distress of the clergy at that time was great beyond expression. They durst not stay in the houses of Catholics who were able to give them a part of what they had to eat and drink, for thither the soldiers came frequently in search of priests and loyal persons, and when, after some stay in some poor cottage, they happened to be discovered by the curiosity of neighbours, they were forced to change quarters in the dead of the night, and, in general, they staid in the hills in the open air day and night during the summer, where they had the greatest difficulty to support their lives. They were obliged to purchase any small necessaries with money, and scarcely were they to be had for money; besides, their money was exhausted, not being able to get their quotas in such troublesome times, nor to recover just debts, the course of justice being stopt with regard to priests and loyal people. They borrowed

as long as they had any credit, and when that failed them their sufferings and distress became exceeding great. Besides, the country was harassed by the soldiers, and all communication and commerce being interrupted between the north and south country, the people were reduced to great distress, and were not in a condition to assist the Missioners, many of whom lay fainting and languishing with sickness for want of nourishment proper for human bodies, and were obliged to crawl about in the night-time from house to house to procure a little bread to support their lives. They were 25 in number, . . . and before the end of the year, 1689, several of them were apprehended and sent to prison. Mr Walter James was seized and sent prisoner to Blackness Castle; Mr Crichton was taken at Strathbogie and sent to Dunottar Castle, and from thence to Aberdeen; Mr Gordon was sent prisoner also to Aberdeen. The others seem to have escaped their pursuers; but the case of those who were in prison was perhaps preferable to that of those who were at liberty, for the former knew the worst that could befall them, and were at least sure of their subsistence, whereas the latter were exposed to continual fears, and what was worst, were in danger of starving for want.”¹

What a record of slow torture, of extinguished hopes, and of expectations flickering away or scarcely kindled for a dim and distant future, what a chronicle of suffering and of patience is revealed or rather is concealed in this narrative! The Jesuits, of whom there were nearly twenty in James VII.’s reign, and the Benedictines, who

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.); Records (MS.).

were less numerous, suffered like the secular clergy exceedingly. "Such," proceeds the narrator, "is the account I can collect of the fortunes and sufferings of the clergy in the first fury of the mob. The laity, also, had their share in the common calamity, and many of them were imprisoned, and suffered great distress. Among others three noble ladies, who had lived many years at Edinburgh, without giving offence to anyone, viz., Lady Lucy Hamilton, Lady Margaret Hay, and the Countess Dowager of Errol, had their houses rifled and their furniture burned. The mob committed a still more barbarous action against a Catholic gentleman of the name of Bruce, who, after having made a fortune in Poland and Germany, had returned to his native country with his family and effects. He had brought several springs of water to Edinburgh at his own expense, and had established a paper manufactory, the first seen in Scotland. A man of such a spirit deserved to be caressed and rewarded; but instead of that, the mob in his absence, assaulted his house with great fury, turned his wife, who was a foreigner, and his children out of doors, carried off the furniture, and set fire to the house." In 1693, after three years of weary imprisonment, Fathers Gordon, Davidson, and Crichton were offered their liberty by the Privy Council "on condition of their subscribing to a sentence of perpetual banishment, and finding security for their never returning under pain of death." The brave priests, "thinking that the accepting such a sentence would be an abandoning the cause of religion and the souls of their countrymen, with a courage and zeal worthy of the primitive martyrs, rejected the offer, and chose

rather to continue in prison than to obtain their liberty on such terms. The Council was so incensed at their refusal, that they ordered them to be more closely confined, they turned in among them thieves and disorderly women, and several companies of soldiers, by whose vermin and filth they were almost stifled and consumed." At length they were banished, and went to Paris, only abiding their time till they could return to the mission.

In 1694 the persecution was somewhat abated. "Father Fordyce had all Scotland for his prison; Father Fensoule had Edinburgh and two miles round; Father Seaton, Edinburgh, and twelve miles round. The Duke of Gordon and Earl of Seaforth were confined in the Castle of Edinburgh. The Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Perth, had retired to Antwerp with his lady, where he lived very privately and cautiously, as he had spies set over, and before his departure from Britain he was obliged to give bail for £5000 sterling that he would not go to France, nor have any communications with anyone in the French dominions."¹

Amid their manifold afflictions Scottish Catholics ever kept in view the primary necessity of the mission—a bishop. Strange to say, that many Catholics were doubtful of the expediency of procuring one, and there were vast difficulties in the way. At length, however, negotiations with Pope Innocent XII. at Rome and with King James VII. at St Germain's, were completed, and on February 27th, 1695, Thomas Nicolson, son of Sir Thomas Nicolson of Kemnay, was consecrated at Paris,

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.) ; Records (MS.).

in the private chapel of the Archbishop's palace. The consecrators were Mgr. Mascaron, Bishop of Agen, Mgr. Barillon, Bishop of Lucon, and Mgr. Ratabon, Bishop of Ypres. He received the title of Bishop of Peristachium *in partibus infidelium*, and jurisdiction as Vicar Apostolic of all Scotland. The appointment was in all respects an admirable one. Father Nicolson was born in 1645, and had been Regent in the University of Glasgow for fourteen years. He was converted in 1682, and ordained a priest in 1685; and now the interesting fact appears that Cardinal Barbarigo, the pious Bishop of Padua, had "conceived a great opinion of the Scots," and that several of them were employed in his celebrated seminary at Padua. After his ordination, Father Nicolson became prefect of studies in the seminary, and at the same time the chair of theology was filled by John Paul Jameson, a convert priest from Aberdeenshire, and Robert Strahan, the son of a Presbyterian minister, was Professor of Greek. Father Nicolson began work on the Scottish Mission in 1687, and after the Revolution we have seen him forced to flee the country, and acting as Confessor to a convent at Dunkirk. He was at Dunkirk when he received the news of his election to an office whose toils and responsibilities far exceeded those of all his brother priests, but which, for the love of God and of his afflicted country, he was ready to accept.

The last years of the seventeenth century were sad indeed for Scotland. They were deeply darkened by the Massacre of Glencoe, and the great national failure of the Darien Expedition.

In 1690 the Earl of Breadalbane was entrusted with

a sum of £12,000 to aid in bringing about the pacification of the Highlands, and a garrison was planted at Inverlochy (Fort-William) to overawe the ill-affected clans. In 1691 certain chiefs were warned that they would suffer the utmost severities of the law, that letters of fire and sword would be put in execution against them, unless they took the oaths to Government before the 1st of January 1692. Lord Breadalbane and Sir John Dalrymple evidently hoped that those chiefs, specially the Popish clan of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, would still hold out in defiance, and Dalrymple rejoiced that the time of grace expired in the depth of winter, for he writes: "That is the proper time to maul them—in the cold, long nights." He also rejoiced that Glencoe hath not taken the oaths, for "it's a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sect, the worst in all the Highlands." On the 16th of January a terrible paper of instructions, under the sign-manual of King William III., went forth, wherein he orders, "If M'Ian of Glencoe, and that tribe, can be well separated from the rest, it will be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves." Meanwhile the aged M'Ian, chief of Glencoe, was speeding in the midst of a blinding snowstorm to take his oath at Inverary, in presence of the Sheriff of Argyllshire. Not till the 1st of January could he arrive, but the oath was duly registered. When the list of those who had taken the oaths was sent to the Privy Council, Macdonald of Glencoe's signature had been obliterated, but was still traceable. The old man, however, trusted he was safe, and soon after Campbell of Glenlyon, with a set of

Argyll's men, the hereditary enemies of the Macdonalds, was received by M'Ian at Glencoe. From the old chief Glenlyon and his followers received the utmost hospitality and kindness, and Glenlyon took his morning glass of usquebaugh daily at his host's simple dwelling. On February 12th, Glenlyon received from headquarters the following ghastly orders: "You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have especial care that the old fox and his sons do on no account escape your hands; you are to secure all the avenues, that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at four in the morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after, I will strive to be at you with a stronger party. But if I do not come to you at four, you are not to tarry for me, but fall on. This is by the King's special command, for the good and safety of the country, that these miscreants be cut off root and branch. See that this be put into execution without either fear or favour, else you may expect to be treated as not true to the King's Government, nor a man fit to carry a commission in the King's service. Expecting that you will not fail in the fulfilling thereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe these with my hand.—ROBERT DUNCANSON."

Suffice it to say that this bloody edict was literally carried out, under every circumstance of brutality and the foulest treachery. From the hospitable old chief, M'Ian, Glenlyon and two of his officers, the day before the massacre, accepted an invitation to dinner "for the following day, on which they had determined he should never see the sun rise," and in the evening Glenlyon

and two of his officers played at cards with the sons of M'Ian, John and Alaster, both of whom were also destined for slaughter. The details of the massacre in that desolate glen on that winter morning are too horrible for description.

“The hand that mingled in the meal,
 At midnight drew the felon steel,
 And gave the host's kind breast to feel
 Meed for his hospitality !
 The friendly hearth which warm'd that hand,
 At midnight arm'd it with the brand,
 That bade destruction's flames expand,
 Their red and fearful blazonry.

“Then woman's shriek was heard in vain,
 Nor infancy's unpitied pain,
 More than the warrior's groan could gain
 Respite from ruthless butchery !
 The winter wind that whistled shrill,
 The snows that night that cloaked the hill,
 Though wild and pitiless had still
 Far more than Southron clemency.”

—SIR WALTER SCOTT.

CHAPTER XII.

THE UNION.

“The end of ane auld sang.”

SCOTLAND had been far too much occupied with sectarian strife for many decades to give attention to commerce, and during the recent years the jealous interference of England had well-nigh ruined her foreign trade. Other causes had contributed to produce this commercial stagnation. “Partly through our fault,” laments a Scotsman, “and partly through the removal of our kings into another country, this nation, of all those that possess good ports and lie conveniently for trade, has been the only part of Europe which did not apply itself to commerce; and, possessing a barren country, we are sunk to so low a condition as to be despised of all our neighbours, and made incapable to repel an injury, if any should be offered.”¹

It was an indication that some minds, at least, were turning in a practical direction, when, in 1695, the Bank of Scotland, incorporated by royal charter, first opened for business in a flat of the Parliament Close, with a few

¹ “First Discourse concerning the Affairs of Scotland,” *Political Works*—Fletcher of Saltoun.

clerks, and a paid-up capital of ten thousand pounds sterling.

The first great mercantile enterprise of Scotland is known as the Darien Expedition, and into this undertaking it has been said that the nation plunged "with the same eagerness with which the inexperienced traveller pursues the mirage of the desert." The tragedy of Glencoe was closely followed by the tragedy of Darien. The originator of this disastrous speculation was William Paterson, a Scotsman, who carried on business as a merchant in London, and who had been instrumental in founding the Bank of England in 1694. Paterson's scheme was daring and brilliant. It was the colonisation of the Isthmus of Darien or Panama, between North and South America, and the establishment there of commercial headquarters between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. England strongly opposed the project, Scotland grasped it at once. In 1695, the Scottish Parliament passed an Act for the creation of "The Company of Scotland, trading to Africa and the Indies," generally known as the African or the Darien Company. Then Paterson unfolded his dreams of gold. Darien was the "key of the world"; that fair territory was to be the centre of trade between Europe and Asia; Scotland, from being one of the most poverty-stricken lands on the face of the globe, was to become comfortable, if not opulent. The amount of capital to be subscribed in Scotland was £400,000. On the 26th of February, 1696, the subscription books were opened in Edinburgh, and the sun had not set before £50,000 was entered, while by the 3rd of August the whole amount was taken

up. Great was the excitement, and high were the hopes of many. Persons in every rank of life subscribed, besides public institutions, including the Advocates' Library, founded only in 1689 by Sir George Mackenzie, and the corporations of Edinburgh and Glasgow. The undertaking became a national one, and a number of subscribers of £500 and £100 were lawyers, merchants, and physicians.

The scheme of operations proposed by the directors did not err on the side of modesty. "It embraced the greater part of the habitable globe. They proposed to unfurl the flag of Scottish mercantile marine amid the icebergs of the Arctic Ocean, and under the burning latitudes of Africa, Asia, and America. Their scanty capital should furnish cargoes for the Gold Coast of Africa, Archangel, and the distant southern seas. Their trusty mentor was the indefatigable Paterson. . . ." ¹

Practical preparations were early begun; vessels were bought at Hamburg and Amsterdam, and a vast accumulation of provisions, including flour, salt beef, brandy and wines, butter and cheese, arms and ammunition, agricultural implements and tradesmen's tools, and such small but indispensable articles as "periwigs, tobacco pipes, horn spoons, candlesticks, combs, buttons, and kid gloves," ² were gathered together, and stored up in a great warehouse in Mills Square. The erection of an imposing looking house for business offices was also commenced.

¹ See *The Union of England and Scotland*, by James Mackinnon, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*

Finally, on the 26th of July, 1698, a fleet of four vessels—the “Caledonia,” the “St Andrew,” the “Unicorn,” and the “Dolphin Snow”—with twelve hundred souls on board, set sail from Leith Roads, amid tears and prayers, and hopes and fears. How few of those who set sail on that summer day were ever to return to their native land !

Meanwhile, “neighbouring nations, with a mixture of surprise and respect, saw the poorest kingdom of Europe sending forth the most gallant and the most numerous colony that had ever gone from the old to the new world.”

After a voyage of four months, the adventurers reached their destination, and on a rocky promontory they founded New Edinburgh to be the capital of the colony they proposed to call New Caledonia. But the expedition was sealed by misfortune. The Spaniards disputed possession of the territory, the climate slew man after man, the colonists were mismanaged and quarrelled among each other, and the English stopped the way by jealousy and opposition. Whilst miseries were multiplying in Darien, in far distant Edinburgh it was only known that the Company had planted the Scottish flag in Darien, and had successfully repulsed the Spaniards. Accordingly the church bells were rung, bonfires were lit, and there were great rejoicings, soon to be turned into mourning. In May, 1699, two additional vessels, with three hundred men, were despatched from Scotland, and in August a third squadron of four vessels of thirteen hundred men set sail, and reached Darien in November, 1699. By the end of the century the scheme had

totally collapsed, and of all who went forth to Darien, only thirty ever returned again. Many at home had lost a husband, a father, a son, or a brother, and many who had embarked their all were utterly ruined. Scotland laid the blame of the great failure almost entirely on William of Orange and general English interference, and there was every prospect that the union of the nations was, in consequence of this failure, to be indefinitely postponed.

On the 28th of December, 1694, Queen Mary II. died of the small-pox at Kensington Palace. When the tidings of his undutiful daughter's death reached James VII. at St Germain's, he also learned that she had left for him no message of contrition, no farewell.

On the 30th of July, 1700, Henry, Duke of Gloucester, died in his eleventh year. In 1683, his mother, the Lady Anne, second daughter of James VII. by his first wife, had married Prince George, son of Frederick III., King of Denmark. Of the eighteen or nineteen children she had borne, the little Henry was the only one who survived infancy, and, as William and Mary had no children, he was, after the Princess of Denmark, heir to the throne. His death occasioned a readjustment of the succession. In 1700, the English Parliament settled the crown of England on the Electress Sophia of Hanover, granddaughter of James VI. by the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with the Prince Palatine. By this settlement the children of James VII. and the Duchess of Savoy, daughter of Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, youngest daughter of Charles I., as also the Catholic descendants of the Princess Elizabeth's sons, were entirely

set aside.¹ In Scotland, after the accession of the Princess of Denmark, Parliament passed an Act of Security. "By this," says Sir Walter Scott, "it was provided, that, in case of Queen Anne's death without children, the whole power of the crown should for the time be lodged in the Scottish Parliament, who were directed to choose a successor of the royal line and Protestant religion. But the choice was to be made with this special reservation, that the person so chosen should take the throne only under such conditions of government as should secure, from English or foreign influence, the honour and independence of the Scottish crown and nation. It was further stipulated that the same person should be incapable of holding the crowns

¹ Next to the exiled Stuarts in representation of the royal house as heir-of-line came the descendants of Henrietta, Charles I.'s youngest daughter, who, in 1661, was married to Philip, Duke of Orleans. From this marriage sprang Anne-Mary (1669-1728), who married Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy and King of Sardinia; their son, Charles Emmanuel III. (1701-73), King of Sardinia; his son, Victor Amadeus III. (1726-96), King of Sardinia; his son, Victor Emmanuel I. (1759-1824), King of Sardinia; his daughter, Mary (1792-1840), who married Francis, Duke of Modena; their son Ferdinand (1821-49), who married Elizabeth of Austria; and their daughter Maria Teresa (born 1849), who, in 1868, married Prince Louis of Bavaria, and whom as Mary "III. and IV.," the "Legitimist Jacobites" of 1891, put forward as the representative of the royal house of these realms. Rupert, her son, was born at Munich on 18th May, 1869, and is ninth in descent from Charles I. The branch of the family which the Act of Settlement (1701) called to the throne on the death of Queen Anne were the descendants of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, granddaughter of James VI. and I. by her mother, the Princess Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia. See *Chambers's Ency.* vol. ix.

of both kingdoms, unless the Scottish people were admitted to share with the English the full benefits of trade and navigation. That the nation might assume an appearance of strength necessary to support such lofty pretensions, it was provided by the same statute, that the whole men in Scotland capable of bearing arms should be trained to the use of them by monthly drills, and that the influence of England might expire at the same time with the life of the Queen, it was provided that all commissions of the officers of state, as well as those of the military employed by them, should cease and lose effect so soon as Anne's death should take place."

On the 11th of February, 1702, as William III. was riding in the home park of Hampton Court, his horse stumbled on a mole-hill, and the King, falling to the ground, broke his collar-bone. The accident was slight, but, worn by toil and sickness, William sank, and on the 8th of March died at Kensington, in his fifty-third year. His death was exhilarating to the Jacobites, who thanked the mole for his fall, by drinking to "the little gentleman in black velvet."¹

In Scotland, William of Orange had been greatly detested of late years, and his name was ever associated with the Massacre of Glencoe and the ruin of Darien. The bitter feeling towards England, the hatred of the country "with a perfect hatred," had probably never been so strong in the northern nation since the Field of Flodden.

The dying words of William to the Houses of Parlia-

¹ See *Tales of a Grandfather*.

ment received scant respect. "He was fully satisfied," he said, "that nothing can more contribute to the present and future security of England and Scotland than a firm and entire union between them ; and he cannot but hope, that, upon a due consideration of our present circumstances, there will be found general disposition to this union. His Majesty would esteem it a peculiar felicity, if, during his reign, some happy expedient for making both kingdoms one might take place, and is therefore extremely desirous that a treaty for that purpose might be set on foot, and does, in the most earnest manner, recommend this affair to the consideration of the House."

Anne, Princess of Denmark, succeeded to the throne on the death of William. In her first speech from the throne to both Houses, she said : "I cannot but think it very necessary, on this occasion, to desire you to consider of proper methods towards obtaining an union between England and Scotland, which has been so lately recommended to you as a matter that very nearly concerns the peace and security of both kingdoms." Far more acceptable to innumerable Scotsmen than the last words of King William or the first of Queen Anne was a document, safe in the national archives, a manifesto addressed to Pope John XXII. in 1319, signed by nobles, barons, freeholders, and the whole community of the nation, to the effect that, "so long as a hundred remain alive, we never will, in any degree, be subject to the dominion of the English." But the inevitable was approaching, the Union was imminent. The first session of the Union Parliament met in Edinburgh on the 6th of May, 1703. The Duke of Queensberry was the

Queen's Commissioner, and a stately Riding took place with all the pomp and circumstance of the ancient feudal days, which were passing away for ever.

Many who gazed on the beautiful pageant as it slowly wound its way up the Canongate and the High Street to the Parliament House were filled with sad forebodings that they did so for the last time. First rode the sixty-three members of the royal burghs, clad in black velvet, and each member attended by one lackey. Then rode the seventy-three barons or representatives of shires; then the various grades of the nobility, or hereditary members, the highest riding last, each apparelled and attended according to his rank, the dukes riding last of all in magnificent array, and accompanied each by eight lackeys. The splendour culminated around the Regalia, "the palladium of the nation's imperial independence." From that last Riding of the Parliament in May, 1703, till the Ratification of the Treaty of Union in 1707, by the immemorial custom of touching the Acts with the sceptre, the utmost excitement and unrest prevailed throughout the country. In April, 1706, thirty commissioners from each nation met in London to deliberate on the terms of the proposed treaty. The leading features of the Act were soon agreed upon. They were:—A union of the two countries under one sovereign, who, failing heirs of the Queen, should be the Electress of Hanover, or her heirs. Each country was to retain her own ecclesiastical establishment and her own laws. Scotland was to send sixteen representative peers and forty-five commoners to the British Parliament. Scotland was to trade freely with England and her colonies; the

taxation was to be equalised, except that from land, which was to be arranged in such a way that when England contributed two millions, Scotland should give only a fortieth part of the sum, or £48,000, and, as the English taxes were burdened by a debt of sixteen millions, Scotland was to be compensated for its share of that burden by receiving, as an equivalent, about £400,000 of ready money from England, which was to be applied to the renovation of the country, the discharge of the public debts, and as a restitution of the money lost by the African Company. The coin was to be of the same standard value throughout the United Kingdom, and a mint was to be continued in Scotland under the same rules as the mint in England, and the weights and measures were to be the same as those of England. The Court of Session, or College of Justice, was after the Union, and, notwithstanding thereof, to remain in all times coming within Scotland, "as it is now constituted by the laws of that kingdom." There was to be one Great Seal for the United Kingdom. All the Articles were agreed to in London on the 22nd of July, 1706. No sooner were they printed and dispersed in Scotland when the nation began "Canvassing, banding, and cavilling. The poor people were terrified with the apprehension of insupportable taxes, loss of employment, want of all things, and large payment upon the salt and malt," and with the dread that the Regalia were to be taken away. "The merchants were frightened with printed schemes of excessive customs and impositions, and the strangest projects of trade were spread about the kingdom that ever were seen." The Kirk took the alarm, and a

certain luminary "writes a large book against an incorporate union ; in which he abuses and reproaches England as a faithless, wicked, treacherous, and abominable nation, and that to unite with her was to entail God's judgment on Scotland for her national sins." ¹ A solemn protest was issued "To the loyal and religious hearts in Parliament," setting forth that the Union would cause "us to lose the light of the Gospel, and would burden us with the superstitions and idolatries of England, which would impose upon us its base and corrupt manners, and all things imaginable, yea, the worst of evils are practicable against us by the Parliament of Britain, where we shall be but 62 to 500 or 600. Our name shall be extinct as a nation, and, like the Jews, we shall be vagabonds over the whole earth." And when the Union was an accomplished fact, loud was the wail of the fanatical. "O how dreadful wickedness is in that sinful union betwixt Scotland and England ! The nobility of Scotland have given away their power to the Beast. And oh ! how sad that so few of them have had a heart to give faithful testimony against the same !"

In the western part of the country matters threatened to take a more serious turn. A national fast was proclaimed, and a popular preacher selected his text from Ezra, "Then I proclaimed a fast there, at the river of Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us and for our little ones, and for all our substance." He then proceeded to stir up the people, saying that prayers would not do, addresses would not do,

¹ See Defoe's *History of the Union*.

but other plans must be adopted, "wherefore," he concluded, "up, and be valiant for the city of our God." Accordingly, up rose his hearers, dispersed the city guards, plundered the houses, and an insurrection seemed inevitable when a party of dragoons from Edinburgh assisted to restore the city to tranquillity.

The last session of the last Parliament of Scotland met on the 3rd of October, 1706. Foremost on the side of the Government were the Duke of Queensberry, Lord High Commissioner; the Earl of Seafield, Lord Chancellor; the Earl of Mar, Secretary of State; whilst the Earl of Stair, who had lately emerged from the cloud which had overshadowed him since the Massacre of Glencoe, and Daniel Defoe, the clever English pamphleteer, were eagerly affording all their abilities to hurrying on the Union. The leader of the Opposition was the Duke of Hamilton, notably assisted by Lord Belhaven and Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. There was a third party, headed by the Marquis of Tweeddale, described as "discontented politicians . . . neither favourers of the Court which had dismissed them, nor of the opposition party," who were termed the *Squadrone Volante*, "and who were at last decided to support the treaty by a reconciliation with the Court."¹

The three camps were well armed for a pitched battle. It was the final struggle, and it was a desperate one. A political hurricane raged in Edinburgh, and indeed throughout the country, during the winter of 1706-7. The Parliament House was the heart and centre of the

¹ *Tales of a Grandfather.*

hurricane : its roars echoed loud and long in the Parliament Square, notably in John's Coffee House at the north-east corner of the Square, in the High Street, the Lawnmarket, the Canongate, the Cowgate, the Grassmarket. No one talked of anything else, or apparently thought of anything, save the Union, the "sorrowful Union." Day by day, hour by hour, rumours, surmises, fragments of speeches, morsels of debates, were stirring up anger and fury, bitterness and disdain, ancient memories of Bannockburn and of Flodden, memories that were of yesterday, of Glencoe and Darien. In preparation for the worst, three regiments of foot were on constant duty, and the Parliament House, the Netherbow Port, and Holyrood were protected by armed guards and a strong battalion. It was evident that the "auld enemies" of a thousand years were not to embrace in a day, that the nations which had met on three hundred and fourteen battlefields were not to lay down their arms without a struggle, but were to fight one battle more. Inside the Parliament House the conflict raged. "It resembled," said one who was present, "not the strife of tongues, but the clash of arms ; and the hatred, rage, and reproach which we exhausted on each other seemed to be those of civil war rather than of polite discussion."

Men who quarrelled and disagreed on every other subject on earth united in one camp to fight against the Union. "I want words," writes an historian of the Union, "words to express what a clamour was raised on all hands, and what feuds began to appear in every corner of the nation. It was the most monstrous sight in the world to see the Jacobite and the Presbyterian,

the persecuting prelatic nonjuror and the Cameronian, the Papist and the Reformed Protestant parle together, join interest, and concert measures together." All classes of the community were appealed to, and mourning patricians would advise the little street boys to go to the Parliament House to see the Crown of Scotland before it was taken away forever.

During the hurricane the Duke of Queensberry and the Duke of Hamilton both resided at Holyrood House. The former walked, or was carried in his chair, or driven in his coach between a double file of musketeers to and fro between the Palace and the Parliament House amid menacing throngs and deafening cries of "No Union, no Union." The Chancellor, who was lodged at Moray House in the Canongate, was attended by a similar escort. The Duke of Hamilton only appeared on the streets to be greeted with cries of "God bless his Grace for standing up against the Union!"

On the 2nd of November, the oak roof of the great Parliament House rang with the impassioned oratory of Lord Belhaven. He was young, he was impetuous, his brow was haughty, and his dark eyes flashed as he called to his compatriots, "For the love of God, let us unite to save our country." He said: "My Lord Chancellor, when I consider this affair of an union betwixt the two nations, as it is expressed in the several articles thereof, and now the subject of our deliberation at this time, I find my mind crowded with a variety of very melancholy thoughts. . . . I think I see a free and independent kingdom delivering up that which all the world hath been fighting for since the days of Nimrod; . . . to wit,

a power to manage their own affairs by themselves without the assistance and counsel of any other. I think I see a national church, founded upon a rock, secured by a claim of right, hedged and fenced about by the strictest and pointedest legal sanction that sovereignty could contrive, voluntarily descending into a plain, upon an equal level with Jews, Papists, Socinians, Arminians, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, etc. I think I see the noble and honourable peerage of Scotland, whose valiant predecessors led armies against their enemies upon their own proper charges and expenses, now divested of their followers and vassalage, and put upon such an equal footing with their vassals, that I think I see a petty English exciseman receive more homage and respect than what was paid formerly to their *quondam* Macallammores. I think I see the present peers of Scotland, whose noble ancestors conquered provinces, overran countries, reduced and subjected towns and fortified places, exacted tribute through the greatest part of England, now . . . laying aside their walking swords when in company with the English peers, lest their self-defence should be found murder. I think I see the honourable estate of barons, the bold assertors of the nation's rights and privileges in the worst of times, now setting a watch upon their lips, and a guard upon their tongues, lest they be found guilty of *scandalum magnatum*. I think I see the royal state of boroughs walking their desolate streets, hanging down their heads under disappointments, wormed out of all the branches of their old trade, uncertain what hand to turn to, necessitated to become prentices to their unkind neighbours, and yet after all, finding their trade so fortified by companies

and secured by prescriptions that they despair of any success therein. I think I see our learned judges laying aside their practiques and decisions, studying the common law of England. . . .” For the sake of every class Lord Belhaven pled on. For the soldiers “sent to learn the plantation trade abroad,” or left to beg at home ; for the mariners “delivering up their ships to their Dutch partners, or earning their bread as underlings in the Royal English navy ;” for the honest tradesman “disappointed of the equivalents, drinking water in place of ale, eating his saltless pottage ; for the “laborious plowman, with his corn spoiling upon his hands for want of sale, cursing the day of his birth, dreading the expense of his burial, and uncertain whether to marry or do worse ;” for the “landed men” and their “incurable difficulties,” “fettered under the golden chain of equivalents, their pretty daughters petitioning for want of husbands, and their sons for want of employments.” “And,” above all, my Lord, “I think I see our ancient mother, Caledonia, like Cæsar, sitting in the midst of our Senate, ruefully looking about her, covering herself with her royal garment, attending the fatal blow, and breathing out her last with *et tu quoque mi fili !*” “Should not the consideration of these things,” continued the patriot, “vivify these dry bones of ours ? Should not the memory of our noble predecessors’ valour and constancy raise up our drooping spirits ? Are our noble predecessors’ souls got so far into the English cabbage-stock and cauliflower that we should show the least inclination that way ? Are our eyes so blinded, are our ears so deafened, are our hearts so hardened, are our tongues so fettered, that in this our day, I

say, my Lord, that in this our day, that we should not mind the things that concern the very being and well-being of our ancient kingdom, before the day be hid from our eyes? No, my Lord, God forbid; man's extremity is God's opportunity; He is a present help in time of need, and a deliverer, and that right early. Some unforeseen providence will fall out that may cast the balance: some Joseph or other will say, 'Why do ye strive together, since ye are brethren? None can destroy Scotland, save Scotland's self. Hold your hand from the pen, you are secure.' Some Judah or other will say, 'Let not your hand be upon the lad, he is our brother'! There will be a Jehovah-Jireh, some ram will be caught in the thicket when the bloody knife is at our mother's throat; let us up, then, my Lord, and let our noble patriots behave themselves like men, and we know not how soon a blessing may come. . . . My Lord, patricide is a greater crime than parricide all the world." Referring to the violence of their disagreement, Lord Belhaven suggested that they should "cordially forgive one another, and that, according to our proverb, *bygones be bygones and fair play to come*. For my part, in the sight of this honourable house, I heartily forgive every man, and beg that they may do the same to me; and I do most humbly propose, that his Grace, my Lord Commissioner, may appoint an Agape, a love-feast for this honourable house, and we may lay aside all self-designs, and after our fasts and humiliations, may have a day of rejoicing and thankfulness; may eat our meat with gladness, and our bread with a merry heart; then shall we 'sit each man under his own fig-tree, and the voice of the turtle shall be heard in our

land'—a bird famous for constancy and fidelity." As Lord Belhaven concluded his speech he fell down on his knees before the throne—"Good God! what! is this an entire surrender? My Lord, I find my heart so full of grief and indignation, that I must beg pardon, not to finish the last part of my discourse, that I may drop a tear as the prelude to so sad a story!" There was a brief pause. The echo of his words were still lingering when the Earl of Marchmont stood up, and made a flat rejoinder. He said he had heard a long speech, and a very terrible one, but he was of opinion it required a short answer, which he gave in these words, "Behold he dreamed, but lo! when he awoke, he found it was a dream." This answer, some said, "was as satisfactory to the members, who understood the design of that speech, as if it had been answered vision by vision." Soon after this the debate became so warm, "that at the desire of the house it was adjourned to the next *sederunt*."¹

The glowing words of Lord Belhaven were in vain, and when the Opposition beheld the tide fairly turned, and their cause doomed, many disappeared from their seats. The Duke of Hamilton, one day when the crisis was at its height, was seized with such a severe attack of toothache that his Grace was unable to be present in the Parliament House.

On the 16th of January, 1707, "an Act ratifying and approving the Treaty of Union" was carried by 110 to 69. The Act was thereafter touched with the royal sceptre by the Lord Commissioner, and all was over.

¹ Defoe.

Those who had signed the Treaty were in imminent peril of life and limb. According to the traditions of the Union, several of the signatures were affixed in a cellar in 177 High Street, and others in an arbour of Moray House. Then by break of the next wintry morning the Lord Commissioner and those who were regarded as his fellow-conspirators were speeding on the road to London, bearing the duplicate of the Act for English ratification.

On the 28th of January, Queen Anne, in laying the Act of Ratification before both Houses, said: "You have now an opportunity before you of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms, which I hope will be a lasting blessing to the whole island, a great addition to its wealth and power, and a firm security to the Protestant religion."

The Act was ratified by the English legislation, and was to take effect on the 1st day of May, 1707, when the two kingdoms of Scotland and England shall then and "forever after be united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain."

The Act was conveyed back to Scotland for the final winding up.

On the 19th of March, the Duke of Queensberry laid the English Act of Ratification before the Scottish Parliament. "Now, there's ane end of ane auld sang," remarked Lord Seaforth, the Chancellor, as, signing the exemplification of the Act, he returned it to the clerk. On the 25th of March the Three Estates of Scotland met, rose, and separated, never to meet again. The last words of the Commissioner at the final dissolution were

“The public business of this Session being now over, it’s full time to put an end to it. I am persuaded that we and our posterity will reap the benefit of the union of the two kingdoms; and I doubt not but as this Parliament has had the honour to conclude it, you will, in your several stations, recommend to the people of the nation a grateful sense of her Majesty’s goodness, and great care for the welfare of her subjects, in bringing this important affair to perfection, and that you will promote an universal desire in this kingdom to become one in heart and affections, as we are inseparably joined in interest, with our neighbour nation.”

Next day the melancholy task of removing the Regalia from the Parliament House to the Castle was unwillingly performed. So dear to the people were the Regalia, so intensely did they cling to the ancient honours that a special clause had been inserted in the 24th article of the Treaty of Union, to the effect that “the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword of State” were to “continue to be kept as they are, in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland, and that they shall remain so in all time coming, notwithstanding of this Union.” In his great oration Lord Belhaven, as he pointed to the glittering representatives, the outward and visible signs of the country’s independence had exclaimed, “Hannibal is come within our gates; Hannibal is come the length of this table; he is at the foot of this throne; he will demolish this throne; he will seize upon these Regalia; he will take them as his *SPOLIA OPIMA*, and whip us out of this House, never to return again.”

Betwixt the hours of one and two afternoon of the

26th day of March, in the year 1707, in presence of the high officers of state, the beloved Regalia were reverently laid in a great oak chest in a strong room of Edinburgh Castle. Then came a last look, as men look on the face of a dear departed one before the coffin lid is closed forever. The rim of gold beneath the jewels of that crown had encircled the brows of the conqueror of Bannockburn; that silver sceptre, with its statues of the Virgin, St Andrew, and St James, had been wielded by a race of native Kings, and the fingers of Mary Stuart had grasped it; that sword of state had been presented by Pope Julius II. to King James IV. in the Abbey of Holyrood, by the Papal Legate and the Abbot of Dunfermline, and it appealed not only to patriotism; to those of the ancient Faith it was a memorial of the days when the Church of Scotland was, "by special grace, the daughter of Rome," for entwined amongst the exquisite filagree work of its scabbard was the Papal Tiara and the keys of the Prince of the Apostles. A paper containing a long protest, and a description of the Regalia, was placed beside them, a large linen cloth was folded over all, the ponderous lid was drawn down, the oak chest, "iron clasped and iron bound," was locked by three great locks, and the Regalia were laid to rest for a hundred years and ten.¹

The officers of state descended from the Castle rock—the funeral of the Regalia was over, and the mourners went about the streets.

¹ On February 4th, 1818, the chest in the Crown-room was opened by royal authority, and the Regalia found as they had been deposited on March 26th, 1707.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND HER SURROUNDINGS IN THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

“The ways are strange, the paths are new.”

THE days of romance and tragedy were over for the Kirk of Scotland. The ministers who had helped her, and those who had hindered her in these days, were gone, the Protesters and the Resolutioners were no more, the Covenant was dead and buried, and a new epoch was inaugurated with the Revolution. At the time of the Revolution, and for several years to come, her leader was William Carstares, minister of the Greyfriars, and Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and who, as chaplain, political adviser, and confidential friend of the intensely Calvinistic William of Orange, had helped to bring about the Revolution. Another chaplain, also a Scotsman, Gilbert Burnet, once minister of Salton in Haddingtonshire, and since 1689 Bishop of Salisbury, was in high favour with William, and was distinguished as a prolific author and leader of the Whig party.¹

Parliament met in April 1693, and drew up an “oath

¹ Among the numerous works of Gilbert Burnet were *Memoirs of Two Dukes of Hamilton*, *History of His Own Times*, and an *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*.

of assurance," which declared that William was King *de facto* and *de jure*, and that Episcopalian ministers who signed this Act could take Scotch incumbencies. The Church refused to be dictated to by the Crown, and when the Crown commanded the Commissioner to summon the General Assembly to meet on the 29th of March 1694, and that each member was to take the oath, it was obvious that the liberty of the Church hung in the balance. Then came William Carstares to the rescue. Forthwith he journeyed to London, arrived late at night, when the King was in bed, and fast asleep. Knowing that not a moment was to be lost, the minister entered the bed-chamber, and drew the Royal bed-curtains—said, as he touched the King and wakened him: "I have come to ask my life!" "Is it possible?" asked his Majesty, "that you have been guilty of a crime deserving death?" Carstares then confessed that he had taken upon him to stop the King's letter containing his commands to the Lord Commissioner as to his procedure at the Assembly. "Have you, indeed," said William, with a frown, "dared to countermand my orders!" Down went the minister on his knees, and in emphatic words assured the King that if his letter was obeyed the Kirk of Scotland would be in ruins. William gave in, told Carstares to burn the letter, rose from his bed, and then and there drew up another mandate in which the oath was dispensed with, and the Kirk received her rights and privileges. It was still the dead of night, but a messenger was despatched forthwith, and, riding with desperate speed, arrived in Edinburgh on the morning of the 29th of March, just a few

hours before the great bell of St Giles was tolling for the meeting of the Assembly. The new instructions were handed to the ministers, and the Kirk was free.

In 1696, Parliament passed an Act for settling of schools, by which it was "statuted and ordained" that every parish in the realm should provide a commodious schoolhouse, and should pay a moderate stipend to a schoolmaster. The Assembly followed it up by an Act enjoining Presbyteries to see that the law was obeyed, and the school system which Scotland now enjoys, and which enables the poorest peasant to give his son a liberal education, was thus established.

Special endeavours were made to educate the Highland people. Not before it was time, apparently. A minister describes the Highlands as "filled with ignorance and heathenism. Most of the people unacquainted with the first principles of Christianity, without schools; children were unbaptised for years; theft and robbery were esteemed no crimes; revenge, even when carried the length of murder, was counted gallantry; idleness was a piece of honour; and blind obedience to chiefs obscured all feelings of subjection to civil government." Neither Kirk nor State forgot their duties in regard to witches, and at the very time that education was being so well provided for, a commission for the trial of twenty-two poor helpless creatures, "guilty only of being old and miserable," was issued by the Privy Council.

This was consistent, as "the ministers and people believed as firmly in witchcraft as in the first principles of their religion."

The Assembly of 1696 passed an Act against the

atheistical opinions of the Deists, and forthwith ministers set about searching the booksellers' shops in Edinburgh for heretical works. A young student in Edinburgh, Thomas Aikenhead, was tried before the Court of Justiciary on charges of blasphemy and scoffing at Holy Scripture. He had discovered, he said, that "Trinity in unity was a contradiction; Moses had learned magic in Egypt, and this was the secret of his miracles, Ezra was the author of the Pentateuch, *Theanthropos* was as great an absurdity as *Hirco-Cervus*, or a quadrature to a rotundum." The poor young fellow, he was only eighteen, recanted his errors, and begged hard for his life, but the unmerciful ministers, forgetting the mercy of the Divine Master, voted for his death. In token of penitence, he went to the scaffold with the Bible in his hand.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the opinions of a French fanatic, Antonia Bourignon, appeared in the country, and for publishing "An Apology for M. Antonia Bourignon," Dr George Gordon, a minister of Aberdeen, was cited before the Assembly of 1701. He was deposed, and henceforth every Presbyterian minister before being ordained is required to disown all Popish, Arian, Socinian, Arminian, and Bourignon errors.¹

¹ The objections of many of the ministers to pray for "the Dutch tyrant" were well known, and they were closely watched in their "conceived prayers," discourses, and general conversation. One minister was accused of exhorting his hearers to pray for King James in private, and of saying "he expected a blessed reformation, but that they had only gotten wretched tyrants and ungodly rulers to govern them, and that the people had no security

The Presbyterians were fortunate in having William Carstares to steer the helm of the Kirk through the stormy waters of the Union. In the Articles of Union was inserted an Act which ordained that the government of the Church by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods, and General Assemblies should be the only government of the Church within the kingdom of Scotland. It asserted that "her Majesty, with advice and consent of the said Estates of Parliament, doth hereby establish and confirm the said true Protestant religion, and the worship, discipline, and government of this Church to the people of this land in all succeeding generations. And lastly, that after the decease of her present Majesty (whom God long preserve), the Sovereign succeeding to her in the Royal Government of the kingdom of Great Britain, shall in all time coming, at his or her accession to the Crown, swear and subscribe that they shall inviolably maintain and preserve the foresaid settlement of the true Protestant religion. . . . It shall be held in all time coming as a fundamental and essential condition of any treaty of union to be concluded betwixt the kingdoms, without any alteration thereof, or derogation thereto, in any sort for ever." It was also declared that the university cities of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh should continue for ever; and that all principals, pro-

for life and property." Another minister was deprived for not praying for William and Mary, and for saying that "he had rather the Papists should gain the day than the Presbyterians, whilst another went so far as to declare that "it was as lawful to go and hear mass as to hear a sermon in a Presbyterian meeting-house."

fessors, masters, or other office-bearers therein, should subscribe the Confession of Faith, conform to the worship, and submit to the government and discipline of the Church established by law.

When the Treaty of Union was carried up to London, and laid before the English Houses of Parliament, an Act was inserted for the security of the English Church very similar to that for the security of the Scottish Church. The Bill passed the Commons with almost no opposition, but in the Lords four of the bishops objected to the Scottish Act of Security. Whereupon the Archbishop of Canterbury stood up and said, "That he had no scruple of approving of it within the bounds of Scotland, that he thought the narrow notions of all churches had been their ruin; and that he believed the Church of Scotland to be as true a Protestant church as the Church of England, though it was not so perfect."

On the 22nd of April 1712, "the Act of Queen Anne" was passed by both Houses of Parliament; restoring Patronage—"The right of every several congregation to elect their ministers" had been a recognised principle ever since the Reformation. Patronage had been occasionally revived, but for more than two generations it had been unknown. By the "Act of Queen Anne," "henceforth heritors were to appoint the clergymen, and the congregation were to accept their nominees as a matter of course." The Kirk resisted the Act bravely, forty presbyteries petitioned against it, Carstairs rejected it as a breach of the Treaty of Union, but all in vain; Patronage was restored.

There were two sections of the Protestant community

from which the Establishment held rigidly aloof, and which held rigidly aloof from the Establishment. They were the Episcopalians and the Cameronians. The former were divided into three classes. "One was composed of the ministers who had taken the oaths, and remained in possession of their former benefices. They alone were tolerated by law; all the rest were forbidden, under severe penalties, to exercise any part of their ministerial office. The second class included those ministers who had taken the oath of allegiance to the reigning Sovereign, but were not in possession of parochial cures. Most of them officiated in meeting-houses; but they were at any time liable to prosecution, and to have their places of worship shut up. As they disclaimed allegiance to the exiled family, they were rather objects of jealousy to the Presbyterian Establishment, than of suspicion to the civil government. The third class comprehended all the prelates and a majority of the whole body of the clergy. They were avowed Non-jurors, and were carefully watched both by the secular and by the ecclesiastical authorities. Even they, however, were not absolutely prohibited from officiating in private houses, or in rooms set apart for the purpose; but it was always at the risk of being apprehended and subjected to the penalties to which they were liable, both as Non-jurors and as Nonconformists."¹

On the death of Archbishop Arthur Ross in 1704, the remaining bishops, fearing that their order would become extinct, raised to the Episcopate John Sage, a

¹ *Grub*, vol. iii. p. 42.

minister of Glasgow, and John Fullarton, a minister of Paisley, and before 1711 they had also consecrated John Falconer, Henry Christie, and Archibald Campbell. In 1712, James Gadderar was consecrated in London by Bishop Hickee, the celebrated leader of the English Non-jurors, and the Scottish bishops Falconer and Campbell.

Various attempts were made about this time to introduce some sort of Liturgical service among the Episcopalians, and many books of Common Prayer, according to the use of the Church of England, were sent from over the Borders. A minister writes in sorrow, in 1709,—“I hear very lamentable accounts, by letters from some of our brethren in Angus, of the sad state of things there. The meeting-houses are increasing, and they bury their dead with the Liturgy, and the clergy in their habits, and the nobility and gentry are very fond of these new fashions.”¹ Before this, in 1707, the General Assembly had taken the alarm, and issued a special Act against “innovations, particularly in the public worship of God . . . the introduction of which were not so much as once attempted during the late Prelacy.” The Assembly, “considering also that such innovations are dangerous to this Church, and manifestly contrary to our known principle (which is, that nothing is to be admitted in the worship of God but what is prescribed in the Holy Scriptures), to the constant practice of this Church, and against the good and laudable laws made since the late happy Revolution for establishing and securing the same, in His doctrine, worship, discipline, and government; and that they tend

¹ Wodrow's *Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 77.

to the fomenting of schism and division, to the disturbance of the peace and quiet both of Church and State: therefore, the General Assembly, being moved with zeal for the glory of God, and the purity and uniformity of His worship, doth hereby discharge the practice of all such innovations within this Church. . . ." A certain minister was libelled for saying to an individual who was fearful about the introduction of the prayer-books, "God send us no worse," and because he had never expressed his thankfulness for the deliverance of the kingdom from Popery and Prelacy.

In 1709, James Greenshields, an Episcopal minister, opened a meeting-house in Edinburgh, and used the services of the English Establishment. He was prohibited from preaching, and on ignoring the prohibition, was committed to the common jail. The Court of Session refused his petition, and he appealed to the House of Lords, when the sentence of the Court of Session was reversed.

In 1712, an Act of Toleration was passed. It was specially objected to by Bishop Gilbert Burnet, and others of the Whig party; but these objections were disregarded. It is entitled, "An Act to prevent the disturbing those of the Episcopal Communion in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, in the exercise of their religious worship, and in the use of the Liturgy of the Church of England; and for repealing the Act passed in the Parliament of Scotland, intituled an Act against irregular baptisms and marriages." It was declared to be "free and lawful for all those of the Episcopal Communion . . . to meet and assemble for the exercise of divine worship, to be per-

formed after their own manner by pastors ordained by a Protestant bishop, and who are not established ministers of any church or parish, and to use in their congregations the Liturgy of the Church of England, if they think fit, without any let, hindrance, or disturbance from any person whatsoever." But it was expressly provided that both the ministers of the Established Church and the Episcopal clergy should be obliged to take and subscribe the Oaths of Allegiance and Abjuration, and that during divine service they should pray for the Queen's Majesty, the Princess Sophia of Hanover, and all the Royal Family.

From the first days of the Revolution, the Cameronians, as representing the "Anti-Popish, Anti-Prelatic, Anti-Erastian, Anti-Sectarian, true Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland," had stood apart. At the Revolution settlement, when the Covenants were not so much as mentioned, they were affronted. "Good Lord," prayed a minister, "bless the King with a stated opposition in his heart to the Antichristian Church of England, and with grace to destroy all the idolatry and superstitions of their foolish and foppish worship: that so we may all be united in the bond of the Solemn League and Covenant, and purified according to that pattern in the mount!" They confessed that some of them had been led away "in that sinful act, in being among the first in the nation that proclaimed the declaration of the Prince of Orange, . . . who was matched to a daughter of the bloody Popish Duke of York, educated in the family of her uncle Charles, and ever since adhered to these abjured prelatie principles, and while he is associated with all the

Popish and bloody enemies abroad (France and his associates only excepted), yea, even that ravenous eagle, the Tyrant of Austria, who is the Pope's general, while swimming in the blood of the Protestants of Hungary; and with that old devouring leviathan, the King of Spain, and now also with that little tiger, the King of Savoy."

Despite all this blustering and protesting, the stiff-necked and obdurate Cameronians, known also as the "Hill men" and the "Wild Western Whigs," had been made good use of by the Government, as we have seen when they so gallantly defended Dunkeld in 1689. A portion of the sect had then been created a regiment by the Earl of Angus—the 26th Foot of the British army. The stipulations of those who enlisted were that their officers should be men, such as "in conscience" they could submit to. A minister was to attend each company, and there was to be a Bible in the knapsack of each private. When Presbyterianism was established by William and Mary, the Scottish Parliament had discharged the "Yule vacancies," and the Lords of Session were compelled to sit without intermission from the first day of November to the last day of February. In 1712 an Act was passed restoring the Christmas recess. If this Act was not grievous to the Lords of Session, it was exceedingly so to many Presbyterians, who regarded it as a national sin, and certain to bring down a judgment from Heaven. Some years later a fanatical schoolmaster left his dying testimony "against the abominable act of the pretended Queen Anne and her pretended British—really brutish—Parliament for enacting the observance of that which is called the Yule Vacancy."

William Carstares died in December 1715. Amid many a record of bitterness, and intolerance, and uncharitableness, it is pleasant to remember an episode witnessing to loving-kindness among those who disagreed on points of ecclesiastical government. When the old minister was buried in the kirkyard of the Grey Friars, two men turned aside, and burst into tears. They were non-jurant clergymen, whose families had been supported in their destitution by Carstares.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CHURCH FROM THE CONSECRATION OF BISHOP NICOLSON TILL 1745.

“To-morrow,—to-morrow, and to-morrow.”

—*Macbeth.*

THE consecration of Thomas Nicolson as the first bishop of the Catholic Mission in Protestant Scotland was the greatest event that had taken place there since the Fall of the Hierarchy in 1560. Yet when Father Nicolson was consecrated on that February morning in 1695, in the Archbishopal chapel at Paris, the outlook for the Kingdom of God in the far away northern land was dreary indeed. In mercy the veil is undrawn above the future, and the immediate future, the next hundred years of which living men could only hope to see a part, was to be a period of exceeding suffering and persecution.

The difficulties accompanying every step of the bishop's path appeared insurmountable. To begin with, he was an outlaw from his native land, and, without a passport, return was deemed impossible. After over and over again vainly endeavouring to procure one, and eager to begin work at any hazard, he sailed for Great Britain in October 1696. Immediately on his arrival in England, the bishop was taken prisoner. He was not

at liberty till May 1697, and on the 27th of May he set off for the north. He escaped the Government officials who were lying in wait for him, and reached Edinburgh in June, "where he was received by the Catholics with the greatest joy and satisfaction." He dared not linger in the Capital, however, and soon went on to Gordon Castle, and there, or in Moray, or in the Enzie, where Catholics were so numerous that it was known as the "Papistical country," he resided for some years. The northern priests gave him a warm welcome, and without delay he began his labours in one of the most forlorn sheepfolds that ever a chief pastor entered.

In order to realise that Scottish Catholics were now worse off than before the Revolution, it is necessary to glance at European history. The Peace of Ryswick, which had terminated a long and tedious war, brought no relief to them. "The Catholic Powers made no provision for the security of the Catholic religion, and of the persons of the Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland. Louis XIV. alone could not procure this security, and the Courts of Vienna and Madrid were more concerned to secure King William on the throne of Britain, to counterbalance the power of France, than for the fate of the Catholics in the British dominions; and thus King William was left at liberty to treat them as he pleased. And this was the fruit which the Catholics and the Catholic religion reaped from the alliances between the Catholic and Protestant Powers. In all leagues and treaties of peace between them there always entered some articles favourable to the Protestant and prejudicial to the Catholic religion, which the Protestants took care

to see observed punctually; whereas, on the contrary, when any article, to save appearances, was inserted to procure indulgence or toleration to the Catholics, it was never more minded, and the Catholic Powers gave themselves no trouble about the observance of it. . . . The children of this world were wiser in their generation than the children of light, for the Protestant Powers disunited the Catholic Powers, by sowing discords and jealousies among them, by assisting the weaker against the stronger, and by sometimes joining with one, sometimes with another, to promote the Protestant cause, and to weaken that of the Catholics, in which they were but too successful, for the Catholic Powers entered into leagues and engagements with the Protestant evidently and directly detrimental to the cause of religion. . . ."¹

After the battle of La Hogue in 1692, nine years of life remained to the uncrowned King of Great Britain. He had abandoned his kingdom, had been abandoned by his daughters, but for the sins and follies of his earlier manhood the grace of a broken and a "contrite" heart had not forsaken him. He wore a girdle of penance, he fasted and prayed, and henceforth *Miserere mei Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam* was the burden of his song. "I detest and abhor myself," he said, "when I reflect how oft I have offended so good a God." Not only in his youth had he sinned, but "when I was come to the years of discretion, and Thou, O Lord, had'st been pleased to call me out of the pit of heresy, to open my eyes to know and embrace thy true religion, who

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.).

had'st covered my head so often in the day of battle, delivered me so many times from the dangers of the seas, the noise of the waves, and the madness of the people."

The Court at St Germain's was stately enough. Louis XIV. bestowed more than £40,000 a year from the treasury of France on the exiled monarch. James had his guard of honour, his presence-chamber, and his ante-chamber, and all the equipments of the chateau were royal and splendid. Yet a sadder Court was probably never known upon earth. For neither King nor courtier could live in rest so long as there was the mere possibility of recovering the abandoned and stolen throne of England, always a possibility, sometimes approaching a probability, then vanishing into the hope deferred that "maketh the heart sick," till life became an intermittent fever. As disaster after disaster befel his cause, the penitent monarch had learnt calmly to say, "All that God does is well done. I ought to look upon the afflictions which God has sent me, not as trials, but as the just punishment of my faults."

Round and round the King and Queen were the wan and famine-stricken faces of those who had left home and country for the sake of their faith and their Sovereign, and who were now in destitution. There were "five thousand Catholics from the three kingdoms at Paris and St Germain's, besides many others in different parts of France, the most of them starving for want of bread. The very sight of such a multitude reduced to such misery for their religion and attachment to King James was a most sensible grief" to him and his Queen. The Queen sold part of her jewels to clothe and feed them.

The Earl of Perth and the Duke of Berwick, one of the illegitimate children of King James, sent the most affecting appeals to Rome, the Pope gave about 6000 crowns for the relief of the Catholics, and the Archbishop of Paris contributed liberally. About this time an unfortunate difference took place between the Court of Rome and of St Germain's. "King James nominated a Cardinal to protect Scottish Catholics. This nomination Pope Innocent XI. refused to ratify, whereupon the King exclaimed that he was deserted, not only by his own subjects, but also by his Holiness, who treated him with contempt, and rather as a stepson than a dutiful son."¹

Never were the uncrowned King and Queen of Great Britain happier than when they could escape, he to make a retreat, which he did annually with the monks of La Trappe, and she to live quietly with the Visitandine nuns of Chaillot. Chaillot had ever been a favourite residence of Queen Henrietta Maria. She had built a convent for the nuns, and when she died, on the 31st of August 1669, she bequeathed them her heart. James held frequent intercourse with the Scots College at Paris, and with the great Benedictine Abbey of St Germain's, "the noblest workshop of letters in Europe." The Scots College he charged with the custody of his memoirs, and to its vice-principal, the learned Father Thomas Innes of Drumgask, he ever gave a warm welcome at St Germain's, and made him the "steward of his alms and the confidant of his secrets."²

On the 28th of June 1692, Maria Beatrice gave birth

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.).

² See *Statuta Ecclesiæ Scotianæ*, Pref.

to a daughter. Great was the joy of James over the only living daughter who had never done him wrong, and he called the Princess Louisa *La Consolatrice*.

It has been usual to enlarge on the extremely liberal and gentle rule of William III. in regard to those who differed from him in religion. This may be true as far as his fellow Protestants were concerned, whether they were of his own Calvinistic creed or not, but it certainly did not apply to his unfortunate Catholic subjects. "The grand principle," says a writer, "of his rule was that there was to be no more persecution for religion." When William took the Scottish Coronation Oath he feared that the clause which obliged him "to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God" might lead to persecution, and said, "I will not lay myself under any obligation to be a persecutor." Only when assured this was not obligatory, did he take the Oath. Indeed, the names of Catholics are hardly, if ever mentioned except when they appear as victims of tyranny.

In 1690 Henry Neville Payne, an English Catholic, was apprehended in Dumfries on a charge of complicity in a plot for the restoration of King James. By William's express commands, he was put to the most horrible tortures in Edinburgh, and, failing to declare anything, he was committed to prison for ten wretched years. On Candlemas Day 1695, a meeting of Catholics was "disipat," and the priest, Father Fairfoul, was put in prison, and then banished, on condition of giving a bail of £300 not to return to the country. The magistrates of Aberdeen were about this time enjoined to secure "all Popish schoolmasters or schoolmistresses, or breeders of

youth in the Popish religion, and trafficking Papists found in their bounds."

In 1693 John Seton, an aged priest, had been in Blackness prison for five years for the sole offence of having said mass. He was now dying of his sufferings, and was released by the Privy Council when they saw he had but short time to live.

In 1699 a raid was made on the Duke of Gordon's house in Edinburgh. "On Low Sunday, about sixty Catholics having gone to the Duke of Gordon's lodgings to hear mass, at the instigation of the ministers the magistrates sent a party of soldiers to the house, who made a strict search for the priest, but luckily he made his escape; they then seized the men, to the number of thirty or forty, and sent them to prison, where some of them were detained a long time, and others let out on bail. They suffered the women to depart, having taken down their names, and their promise to appear when called for. The Duke was summoned to appear before the Privy Council as if he had been guilty of a great crime, and he was charged with a new crime for attempting to excuse what had happened, and was sent to prison that very day, and remained in confinement many weeks."¹

"In the beginning of the year 1698, a proclamation was published ordering, under pain of high treason, all Catholic Jacobites and suspects to leave the kingdom within seven days. . . . In it were comprehended all those who had left the three kingdoms to follow the fortunes of King James since the year 1688, and all those

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.); Records (MS.).

who had served in the armies of Louis XIV. during the war, and also women and children. In consequence of this barbarous proclamation, many thousands were obliged to leave their country and take refuge in foreign parts, and great numbers who had lost their all and were reduced to misery and want, flocked daily to St Germain's in hopes of relief, the sight of whom pierced the hearts of the King and Queen, who were not in a condition to relieve them . . . King William had the cruelty to withhold the Queen's dowry which he had promised to pay, and which had been confirmed by Act of Parliament. He pressed the King to banish King James and his Queen and children out of France, but Louis XIV. answered very generously that if they chose to reside at Versailles rather than at St Germain's, they should be very welcome."¹

Never did a January morning dawn more drearily than the morning of the 18th Century dawned for the Catholic Church in Scotland. Yet when many would have given up in despair, Bishop Nicolson was standing in the front of the gloomy battle, and was advancing inch by inch, and step by step in his endeavours to inaugurate rule and discipline within his vast and confused, if thinly populated territory. Only three months after his arrival, he sent a report on September 21st, to Propaganda, and says:—"We have but few priests, yet I think that the clergy were never in a more flourishing state with regard to ecclesiastical learning, piety, and unanimity." In 1699 he effected the "distribution of the country and of

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.) ; Records (MS.).

the missioners into certain districts. He therefore assigned the limits of each one's station, without which he was not to wander, or exercise parochial functions, and appointed a fixed missioner to each station."¹ In April 1700, the bishop called a meeting of his clergy, and with their unanimous consent, drew up a set of rules or *Statuta*, specially adapted to the circumstances of the country.

The following is a summary of the provisions of the *Statuta*. The *first title*:—1. The clergy are forbidden to stigmatise any Catholic as guilty of heresy, unless clear proof can be brought against him. 2. They are not to dispute among themselves, either publicly or privately, on religious questions. 3. The faithful are to be warned against the errors of the *Bourignonites*. 4. The clergy are not to enter on religious discussions with the ministers without the previous approbation of their superiors. 5. Catholics assisting at Protestant services, either for temporal gain, or to avert some loss for themselves, are to be subjected to public penances. *Second title*: Of reconciling heretics.—1. The motives which lead heretics to seek reconciliation with the Church are to be seduously examined; and they are to be exhorted, not only to the acceptance of the Catholic Faith, but also to amendment of life. 2. Converts must receive careful instruction before being admitted into the Church. 3. Those already under the censures of their own Church are to be diligently proved, and not received without the sanction of the vicar-apostolic or his representatives.

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.); Records (MS.).

Third title: Of the authority of the bishop.—1. All the clergy including, according to a degree of Propaganda, Jesuits and regulars of every kind, are subjected to the bishop as regards hearing confessions, the cure of souls, and administration of the sacrament. 2. Special and more ample faculties will be granted to such experienced and worthy priests as the bishop may select. 3. The reserved cases are arson, homicide, duelling, incest in the first degree, and burglary. 4. Cause of dispute, should such arise, between the regular and secular clergy, to be referred to the bishop, and from him, if necessary, to the Holy See. 5. Vows of perpetual chastity, not to be administered to women without the Episcopal authority. *Fourth title:* Of the pastoral office.—1. The missionaries are to have fixed places of residence, and not to change them without due authority. 2. Every pastor is to render an account of his administration to the bishop or his delegate. 3. To ensure uniformity of discipline, confessors are to be guided by the Roman Ritual and the instructions of St Charles Borromeo. 4. The movable feasts of the year are to be announced to the people at the Epiphany. 5. The time for fulfilling the Easter obligation is to be prolonged, if necessary, until Pentecost, and the names of those failing to fulfil it by the latter date are to be given in to the bishop. 6. Public and scandalous offenders are to be subjected to public penance. 7. Apostates are not to be reconciled to the Church until they have been diligently tried and have made public satisfaction. 8. The same to be observed with regard to soothsayers and sorcerers. 9. Each missionary is to keep a register of baptisms, marriages, deaths, and conversions, and to take

due precautions that it does not fall into the hands of heretics. 10. The deaths of benefactors and of brother priests are also to be registered, that due prayers may be offered for them. *Fifth title* : Of the priestly life and character.—1. The spiritual welfare of the flock depends in great measure on the virtues of the pastor. 2. The clergy are to beware of frequenting taverns, of familiarity with the other sex, publicly joining in field sports or similar gatherings. 3. Each pastor, before entering on the mission, and every year afterwards, is to make a retreat for several days. 4. No missionary is to be absent from his flock for more than three weeks without express permission. 5. The clergy are only permitted to carry arms for purposes of self-defence, where necessary. *Sixth title* : Of the instruction of youth.—1. Parents are to be impressed with the importance of religious teaching for their children. 2. Those who permit their children to be brought up in heresy are to do public penance, and to be deprived of the sacrament. 3. The clergy are to give religious instruction not only on Sundays and festivals, but are to seek out the young and ignorant in their own homes for the purpose. 4. Pastors, especially in the Highlands, are to make every effort to establish Catholic schools in their respective districts. 5. In order to increase the number of labourers in the vineyard, the clergy are to endeavour to select from among their flocks, and to provide for the education of such youths as appear to be adapted for the priesthood. *Seventh and eighth titles* : Of the feasts and fasts of the Church.—The holy days of obligation prescribed are the following :—Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Ascension,

Corpus Christi, Nativity of St John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, Assumption, All Saints, Christmas and two following days. The fasting days are—the forty days of Lent, Ember Days, Vigils of St Matthias, Pentecost, St John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, St James, St Lawrence, the Assumption, St Bartholomew, St Matthew, SS. Simon and Jude, All Saints, St Andrew, St Thomas, and Christmas Day. It is ordered that in Lent the principal meal be not taken until sunset, on other fasting days about 3 P.M. The faithful are further recommended not to prepare meat on fasting or abstinence days for Protestants who chance to visit them. *Ninth title*: Of baptism and confirmation.—1. The clergy are not to baptise the children of Protestants, except on these conditions; proximate danger of death, refusal on the part of the ministers to baptise, and the sponsors to be Catholics. 2. Catholics who permit their children to be baptised by the ministers,—in itself a grave sin, and the source of many others—to be subjected to public penance. 3. Those not yet confirmed are to be prepared with all due care for the reception of this sacrament. *Tenth title*: Of the Holy Eucharist.—1. Although, under existing circumstances, the sacred species cannot reverently be reserved for any length of time, yet should the *viaticum* be required for the sick on a day on which the priest cannot celebrate, reservation may be allowed with all due precautions. 2. Those who seek reconciliation with the Church on their death-beds must not be hastily admitted to Holy Communion, unless they show some sign of understanding the Catholic doctrine as to this mystery. 3. Converts are not to be permitted to assist at mass until

after they have made their profession of faith, and public sinners are to be excluded from the holy mysteries as long as they refuse to amend. 4. Priests may be permitted to duplicate in cases of necessity, and with proper authority. 5. Pastors are to be careful with regard to the cleanliness of vestments, altar linen, and sacred vessels. *Eleventh title*: Of penance.—1. The absolution of habitual sinners is to be deferred until they show sign of amendment. 2. No one is to be absolved who does not know the Our Father, the Creed, the Commandments of God and the Church. 3. The clergy, both secular and regular, are to be cautious as to giving absolution to penitents who are not members of their own flock. 4. Notorious sinners are to be exhorted to confess their sins at the beginning of Lent, and so prepare to receive Holy Communion at Easter. *Twelfth title*: Of matrimony.—1. No priest is to officiate at the marriage of two heretics. 2. In the case of mixed marriages, the Catholic party must endeavour to induce the other to embrace the true faith; and if the wife be a Catholic, she must try to obtain her husband's consent to their children being brought up Catholics. 3. Matrimony is to be preceded by confession, in the case of those who are in mortal sin. 4. Catholics who are married only by a Protestant minister are to do public penance; and the Protestant rite is forbidden, even if they have already been married in the Catholic Church. 5. As far as circumstances permit, the banns are always to be published before marriage. *Thirteenth title*: Of usury.—That is, the demanding of exorbitant interest

on loans—is unlawful, and the faithful are to be cautioned against such practices.”¹

At the time that the *Statuta* were prepared, the appointment of administrators was also decided upon. Their office was “to attend to the interests of the whole body, to assist the bishop with their advice, to act in the name of the rest of the clergy, and to have the management of their temporal affairs under the inspection of the bishop. . . . This institution was confirmed and authorised by the bishop in a particular mandate. . . . Their number was fixed to seven, and they were to be chosen out of the most experienced senior missionaries.”

The scarcity of priests had long been deplorable. Some years previously certain Irish missionaries had sent most pathetic letters to Father Leslie, the Procurator in Rome, and to Cardinal Howard, the Protector of Scotland, describing the roughness of the country, the poverty of the people, their want of instruction, necessity of labourers, and the great hardships the labourers had to struggle with. . . . They conjure the congregation by all that is sacred to take pity on those poor people, who were in so great distress, and who were so well disposed, and to allow a sufficient sum for the maintenance of labourers. They add that missionaries are sent to Siam and China, but that they are provided with all necessaries, that they may not be troublesome to their proselytes; that the poor Highlanders, being separated from the rest of the world, cannot expound their necessities to those who may have the

¹ This summary is printed in Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*.

bowels of mercy to assist them . . . and they finally say that if "they were to hold their tongues the very mountains would speak for them."¹

In September 1698, Father John Irvin, Procurator of the Scottish Mission in Paris, sent to the Nuncio in that city a report "on the state of the Church in Scotland." He says that when in April of this year the Privy Council had commanded a search for priests, and Catholic schoolmasters, with the view of delivering them to the penal laws, the bishop's priests had escaped from the towns to the neighbouring mountains, rocks, and deserts, and when the search was over they returned "to minister to the faithful by night, and in the morning before sunrise." At this time there were in Scotland ten Jesuits—one lived in Edinburgh, five in the neighbourhood, four with country gentlemen not far distant, and the other five lived in private families in the north. There were four Benedictines, twenty-three secular priests, and two schoolmasters. Of the ten priests in the Highlands eight were Irish; there were four priests in Banffshire, three in Aberdeenshire, one in Forfarshire, two in Edinburgh, and one with Lord Traquhair. The summer of 1700 was spent by Bishop Nicolson on a visit to the Highlands and Islands, in company with a priest. By almost impassable paths they made for the Catholic west coast, not meeting with "a single inn or human habitation" by the way; and reached the Isle of Eigg, where all were Catholics. From thence they proceeded to the Isles of Canna, Uist, Benbecula, and Barra, and

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.); Records (MS.).

three thousand persons received confirmation, and the bishop prescribed rules and stations for the priests, and appointed two pro-vicars—one Scotch, the other Irish—and revisited on his return journey Arisaig, Morar, Moydart, Knoydart, Glengarry, etc.

Early in the year 1701, a perfect storm of persecution against Catholics began in Scotland. Parliament met, and “new laws . . . more cruel and inhuman” than ever, were enacted, and were put in execution with such strictness and severity that it seemed as if both the Court and private persons had nothing less in view than to extirpate . . . the Catholic religion out of Scotland. In the first place, all Roman Catholic priests were proscribed, and a reward of five hundred merks promised to anyone who should apprehend a priest and deliver him to the hands of a magistrate; . . . a power was given to apprehend any Catholic reputed to be a priest, and to convict him of being a priest; no other proof was required than if he refused to abjure his religion; upon which conviction he was to be banished out of the kingdom, with certification that if ever he returned he should be punished with death.” Anyone who became a Catholic forfeited all his possessions, which were to go to the next Protestant heir, or were forfeited to the Crown. No Catholic should be capable of any inheritance, donation, or purchase, or have any right to acquire or possess any annual rent. No person should employ a Catholic servant under pain of 500 merks; no Catholic should be capable of any trust or management, or being a schoolmaster, tutor, or factor. “If any Papists shall be found together in any private house, and

if in that house at that time there shall be found vestments, pictures, missals, etc., relating to Popish worship, the persons so apprehended shall be reputed as sayers or hearers of mass, and incur the penalties thereof without further probation. No Papist having heritage had power to dispoise any part thereof to his children or other friends being Papists, and all such dispensations were null and void, and it was lawful to the next apparent heir or nearest of kin, being Protestants, to brook and possess the same, or, if he or she refused, the next to him or her shall succeed. The children of Catholics, being minors, were to be taken from their parents and committed to Protestant teachers, who were to educate them at their parents' expense." Never before in Britain had such laws been enacted against Catholics. "These laws resemble more the edicts of Diocletian against the first Christians than the laws made in a Christian country. They not only deprived the Roman Catholics of the rights of citizens, but also of the natural rights of mankind."¹ At the beginning it seemed that they were to do their work. "Some Catholics renounced their religion, others staggered; all trembled for themselves,"² and the converts were few. Not only magistrates and judges, but all were in some degree authorised to execute the terrible edicts.

On Good Friday, the 4th of March 1701, in the Chapel at St Germain's, as the priests were chanting "*Recordare, Domine, quid acciderit nobis; intueri et respice opprobrium*

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.); Records (MS.). ² *Ibid.*

*nostrum. Hereditas nostra versa est ad alienos: domus nostrae ad extraneos,*¹ King James VII. fainted away.

It was the beginning of the end, and the end came on the 14th of September. Troubled, indeed, his life had been, yet his deathbed was that of one who had made his peace with God and man. The waters of the rough, rude sea had passed over him, but they had not washed the balm from the anointed King. To the Prince of Wales, now thirteen years old, he said, "I am leaving this world, which has been to me a sea of storms and tempests, it being God's Almighty will to wean me from it by many afflictions. Serve Him with all your power, and never put the Crown of England in competition with your Eternal salvation. There is no slavery like sin, no liberty like God's service. If His holy Providence shall think fit to seat you on the throne of your royal ancestors, govern your people with justice and clemency. Remember kings are not made for themselves, but for the good of the people. Set before their eyes in your own actions a pattern of all manner of virtues; consider them as your children. You are the child of vows and prayers, behave yourself accordingly. Honour your mother, that your days may be long; and be always a kind brother to your dear sister, that you may reap the blessings of concord and unity." To La Consolatrice he said, "Adieu, my dear child, adieu! Serve your Creator in the days of your youth: consider virtue as the greatest ornament of your sex. Follow

¹ Lectio III. for Holy Saturday at Matins said on Good Friday evening.

close the steps of that great pattern of it, your mother, who has been no less than myself, overclouded with calumnies, but Time, the mother of Truth, will, I hope, at last make her virtues shine as bright as the sun." The King solemnly declared, "I forgive all the world . . . particularly the Emperor of Germany and the Prince of Orange." When the Blessed Sacrament was brought to him as the Viaticum, the dying penitent exclaimed, "The happy day has come at last!"

He had desired to be buried in the parish church of St Germain, with no other inscription on his tomb than the words, "Here lies James, King of Great Britain."

The last farewell of Louis XIV., as weeping bitterly he kissed the dying King, was—"Adieu, my dear brother, the best of Christians and the most abused of monarchs." He remembered his last promises to James VII., and forgot the Treaty of Ryswick, for his friend was no sooner gone when he proclaimed his son at the gates of St Germain as James III., King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.

When on the 8th of March 1702, Anne, Princess of Denmark, succeeded William of Orange, whatever benefit the Anglican establishment gained by the change of dynasty, the Catholic Church could not reasonably expect anything. By the Bill of Rights, which was drawn up when William and Mary were placed on the throne, it was enacted that every English Sovereign should, "sitting on his or her throne, in the House of Peers, in the presence of the Lords and Commons, repeat and subscribe the Declaration against transubstantiation." This Declaration had first appeared in 1643, it was enacted by the Parliament of Charles II. (in 1673) in the Test Act,

to exclude Catholics from civil and military offices, and in 1678 it was imposed on all Members of Parliament in 1678. It was now extended to the Sovereign, and in these shameful words—words which hurled insult and defiance not only at every Catholic in the land, but at millions and millions of Catholics throughout the world—in these words of blasphemy Queen Anne declared from the throne :—

“I, Anne, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, do solemnly and sincerely, in the Presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation and adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope, or any other authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any

other person or persons, or power whatsoever, should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning." On the 23rd of April 1702, on the Feast of St George, before the high Altar of Westminster, where St Edward is said to have had his vision of our Lord's presence under the sacred species, in a church erected for the very purpose of enhancing the Majesty of the Holy Sacrifice, that sacrifice was declared to be idolatrous.¹ After this Catholics could expect but small mercy. In Scotland, however, they profited indirectly during the first part of the reign of Queen Anne. England was for several years too busy with the great war of the Spanish succession, and in adding victory to victory under the banners of the Duke of Marlborough, to leave much time for active persecution. Whigs and Tories were fully occupied with disagreements, and Scottish Presbyterians, knowing the Queen's devotion to the Church of England, were obliged to look out for themselves and their Establishment, whilst everyone was more or less absorbed in discussing the contemplated Union. So small a part had Scottish Catholics in the history of the times, that an historian in entering on the reign of Queen Anne, does not so much as mention their existence when discussing the ecclesiastical state of Scotland. "There was," he says, "the Episcopalian Community in the north-east, strong in wealth and rank; . . . there was the comfortable Presbyterian Establishment . . ." and there was "the remnant of those who proclaimed the Solemn League and Covenant as still

¹ See *Coronation Oath*, Catholic Truth Society.

binding on all the three realms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.”¹

The way in which Catholics were regarded by the Establishment is well expressed about this time by a minister in the Tolbooth Church, who said in his “conceived prayer,” “O Lord, there are two great beasts in the world—the great Turk and the Pope of Rome; destroy them both, and bring down that great enemy of Christ’s Kirk, the tyrant of France.”

Government knew well that the more Papists were persecuted the greater its own security, and that to offer toleration to those sufferers was fatal policy. Scottish Protestants rejected toleration for themselves if Papists profited at the same time, and had already announced that if Government “behoved to take away the laws against Papists it were better to want” toleration. “Toleration was inconsistent with the law of God; its object was to set up tyranny; its tendency to unite the hearts of Protestants with Papists; as if the latter were neighbours, and by taking in bishops and quakers it legalised heresy and blasphemy no less than idolatry.”

In 1704 Queen Anne, true to the obligations of her Coronation Oath, issued the following proclamation against Catholics:—

“Anne, by the Grace of God, Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc., etc. We charge all sheriffs, bailies, magistrates, officers of the laws, and justices of the peace, that they at once put the laws in force against Jesuits, priests, sayers of mass,

¹ *The Reign of Queen Anne*, by John Hill Burton, vol. iii. p. 208.

resetters, or harbourers of priests, or hearers of mass, to seize and apprehend priests, Papists, and Jesuits, to put down all mass meetings. All persons who shall apprehend and convict any priest, Papist, trafficker, Jesuit, harbourer, or resetter, shall have a reward of five hundred merks, besides expenses. We recommend to our lords of the treasury to see this reward punctually paid for the securing of the true Protestant religion, and we require and command all ministers of the Gospel that they be diligent in taking the names and addresses of all persons suspected of Popery, or who have apostatized from the Protestant religion to Popery. The names of men, women, and children are to be carefully taken, and all particulars regarding them must be given in to their respective Presbyteries before the 15th of May next.

“Given under our signet, at Edinburgh, the 17th March, in the third year of our reign, 1704.”

The names of men, women, and children were accordingly carefully taken down, and “given into the lords of the Privy Council and the Commission of the General Assembly from 1701 to 1705.”¹

The thirst of the ministers for persecution is expressed by the Presbyterian historian Wodrow, who writes:—“I cannot help wishing that there were some civil fund for the persecution of Papists, as enemies to the civil constitution and liberty.”²

Since the death of Cardinal Howard in 1694, no Protector had been appointed to either of the three national

¹ See *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*.

² *Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 202.

British colleges in Rome, although Cardinal Caprara, agent for St Germain's, had acted as Vice-Protector for Scotland. On his elevation to the Cardinalate, Cardinal Giuseppe Sacripanti, Prefect of Propaganda, became Protector of Scotland in 1706, and at the same time Cardinal Caprara was appointed Protector of England, and Cardinal Imperiali of Ireland.

In 1704 a case of vital importance was decided at Rome. John Clement Gordon, a Scotsman, who had received his orders according to the Edwardine ritual, was converted to Catholicism. He desired to receive the priesthood, and accordingly a searching investigation as to the validity of his orders was instituted, and the most eminent doctors of the Sorbonne and of Douai were asked for their opinions. Precaution was taken that a copy of the Anglican Ordinal should be submitted to examination, and that with it should be collated the ordination forms gathered together from the various eastern and western rites. Then Clement XI. himself, with the unanimous vote of the Cardinals concerned, on April 17th, 1704, decreed :—"John Clement Gordon shall be ordained from *the beginning and unconditionally* to all the Orders, even sacred Orders, and chiefly of priesthood, and in case he has not been confirmed he shall first receive the Sacrament of Confirmation."¹

On April 11th, 1706, James Gordon, son of Patrick Gordon of Glastirum, was consecrated at Montefiascone by Cardinal Barbarigo, and received the title of Bishop

¹ See *Letter Apostolic of his Holiness Leo XIII., by Divine Providence Pope, concerning Anglican Orders.*

of Nicopolis, *in partibus infidelium*. He was *destinato* coadjutor to Bishop Nicolson, and before leaving for Scotland, he asked and received from Propaganda twenty Roman rituals, and twenty catechisms printed in the Irish tongue for the use of the Scotch mission.

In the year 1706, Bishop Nicolson paid his first visit to Braemar. He found there about five hundred Catholics, who were ministered to by two Jesuits. The people of Braemar gave the bishop two very good reasons to account for their constancy to the faith. The first was, that "in the neighbouring countries the Church possessed many lands, hence avarice conspired with error to delude the people, and withdraw them from their religion; whereas in Braemar the Church possessed no lands, and the clergy lived on tithes and oblations." The bishop remarks that this observation holds true all over the kingdom; for "where sacrilege abounded most, there heresy is more predominant; and where the Church possessed more lands, there the heretics are more obstinate." The second reason was that in the beginning of the troubles, the priest of that country, Father James Owen, a very holy man, and greatly beloved, "continued firm in his post, while others fled." A very remarkable event happened in Father Owen's time. "One day when he was at the altar, a gentlewoman of good family, but a Protestant, accompanied by some men of the same persuasion, entered the place, and violently laid hands on him, and turned him out of doors. He, turning to his flock with tears, foretold that the woman would soon be punished . . . which the event soon verified, for in a short time after, she began

to be tortured with violent pains, and her right hand, with which she had presumed to touch the priest, mortified to the elbow. She languished for a long time, a miserable spectacle, and a burden to herself and others. . . . She prayed and wished for death to end her misery, but her prayer was not heard, neither had she the happiness to repent.”¹ The bishop attests that her posterity related the story down to that time. Bishop Nicolson found in Braemar a woman who for seven years had observed the Fast of St Ninian, that is from midday on Holy Thursday till midday on Easter Sunday. This woman foretold the time of her death, and many other things which exactly came to pass.²

A meeting of the clergy for general deliberation was held in February 1707. A scheme was then proposed for the distribution of labourers and districts throughout the whole kingdom. The distribution was as follows, and to each of those places mentioned a priest was assigned, while certain stations received two priests:—Edinburgh, Galloway, Clydesdale, Tweeddale, Perthshire, Angus, Aberdeen, Mavor, Deeside, Braemar, Garioch, Buchan, Banff, Glenlivet, Strathavon, Strathbogie, the Enzie, Ross, Strathglass, Glengarry, Knoydart, Skye, Canna, Egg and Rum, Morar, Arisaig, and Barra. Amongst the priests appointed there were eleven Jesuits, four Benedictines, five Franciscans, and one Augustinian. About this time the conversions among the gentry appear not to have been numerous. The pressure of the penal laws was heavily felt, especially of the law

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.); Records (MS.).

² *Ibid.*

by which the Protestant by becoming Catholic forfeited his goods and possessions, which fell to the nearest Protestant heir. Hence there were few conversions among the higher classes, for "few were capable of such a sacrifice." There were, however, many of the poorer people converted.

In June 1707, Bishop Gordon set out on a laborious visit to the Highlands, accompanied by a deacon who spoke the Erse. After leaving Glengarry, real hardships began. The only food to be had was ill-baked barley bread, and when that failed, cheese ; milk and whey were the only beverages, beds were of heath or grass, and when it rained, there was not a dry spot in their miserable huts. The bishop sent back his horse and proceeded in the apostolical way, performing the whole remaining part of his visitation on foot. At Scothouse, in Knoydart, he ordained the young deacon who had accompanied him from Preshome, as a missionary for the Highlands. This was the first ordination that had been in Scotland since the Reformation.

When the Catholic clergy met in 1707, they were cautioned against meddling on any account with politics. Whether they meddled with politics or not, they frequently got the credit of doing so, and any attempt to restore the Stuarts was heavily visited on their head. The son of James VII. was now twenty years of age. He had taken the title of the Chevalier de St George when he served in the French army in the Low Countries, and we are told that as a soldier "he claimed no higher distinction than the Companionship of the National Order, with which he had been invested by his father."

In 1708 Louis XIV. fitted out an expedition for his descent on Britain. The Prince embarked, and in March the tall masts of the French fleet were seen near the Isle of May, in the Firth of Forth, and it was known that his Royal Highness was on board. The French fleet was commanded by the Comte de Forbin, and on the appearance of English men-of-war, under Admiral Sir George Byng, it retired, and a great opportunity was lost for ever. After this failure "the times became very turbulent for Catholics; the priests durst not appear, and no person was safe to travel through the country about his own affairs, for parties of soldiers were stationed everywhere, who stopped everyone they met, and made strict enquiry into their business and intentions. Many of the nobility and gentry were called to Edinburgh by order of the Privy Council, and from thence sent prisoners to London. Among them were six Catholic noblemen and some gentry. As nothing could be proved against any of them, they were enlarged, except one who was sent to the Tower of London, and who . . . appears to have been the Duke of Gordon, and he also was liberated after some time. It was no wonder though the Catholics were treated as suspected persons, for at court at that time all Scotland was looked upon as disaffected, partly on account of their hatred of the English and of the Union; partly on account of their attachment to the family descended from their ancient kings, and it was the general opinion at that time that if King James had landed in Scotland, he would soon have become master of the whole kingdom. Notwithstanding the troublous times, the missionaries continued firm and

constant, and none of them ever thought of abandoning his station. They were obliged, indeed, to abscond, and to use great caution in performing their functions, especially about Easter. They held their meetings seldom, and frequently during the night or early in the morning. To the other distresses of the Catholics were added new penal laws, which it seemed impossible to render more unjust and rigorous. The separate Parliaments of Scotland and England had formerly declared the Catholics incapable of purchasing lands or houses, or of succeeding to inheritances, but the first united Parliament of the two nations declared them incapable of acquiring moveables and of recovering just debts. Under such circumstances it was not to be wondered at if few converts were made; nay, it was surprising how the Catholic religion could subsist. Nevertheless, some converts were always made, and though fewer than usual, especially among the rich, yet their zeal and devotion compensated their number. . . . This year died Mr Alexander Winster, alias Dunbar, after fifty years spent in the mission; the most part of which time he had been entrusted with the charge of the whole mission under the title of Prefect. He discharged his functions with great zeal and diligence, and was much esteemed in life, and regretted in death, both by Catholics and Protestants.”¹

The year previously William Leslie, who had been Procurator for the mission during fifty-six years, died. He had acted “with great zeal and prudence, with the greatest advantage to the mission,” which

¹ Contemporary Letters (MS.); Records (MS.).

owed him deep gratitude for having procured its first bishop.

In 1709 Bishop Gordon, who was a man of exceeding fervour and energy, paid another visit to the Highlands and Islands; he found more than 8000 Catholics in those parts. He confirmed 1200 persons, erected two new schools, visited the old ones, and erected a chapel at Strathglass. In 1710 Bishop Nicolson visited Banffshire, Aberdeen, Buchan, and Strathbogie, encouraging both priests and people. Bishop Gordon visited Angus, Perthshire, the Lothians, and Tweeddale. He also visited Nithsdale and Galloway, where special precautions were required, and he generally travelled by night.

The years 1709 and 1710 were saddened by increasing persecution. "The ministers . . . bethought themselves of another method of distressing the poor Catholics, which was to importune the noblemen and gentlemen to banish the Catholic tenants out of their lands, unless they obliged themselves under their hands, to frequent the Protestant kirks, and several of the lairds and proprietors began to put this scheme into execution; . . . not one apostatised or went to their kirks. . . ." There were also many conversions, chiefly in Strathbogie, Glenlivet, Strathavon, Braemar, Strathglass, and Glengarry.

In 1710 the ministers raised a great persecution without any authority or order from Government. As the laws in Scotland against Catholics were always in force, any person was at liberty to put them in execution. For having embraced the Faith, two converts were thrown into prison. In Marr some were compelled to go to the

kirks, and some were stoned to death. Notice was sent to the officers of different garrisons "to apprehend by force or fraud the principal missionaries, whilst ministers went about to take down the names of Catholics to cite them before the Circuit Courts," and they proclaimed their intentions to force them to go to the kirks. Few apostatised, thanks chiefly to the zeal of the bishops. In those dreadful times we are told that the chief confidence of the bishops "was in the Almighty, in whose hands are the hearts of magistrates and princes, and who can turn them as he pleases. To Him, therefore, they had recourse by fervent prayer." Had bishops or priests given in then, humanly speaking, the Catholic cause in Scotland would have been doomed.

At length a certain amount of relief was obtained. In desperation, Scottish Catholics delegated an agent to proceed to London, and to present petitions in their name to the Duke of Queensberry, Secretary of State for Scotland, and to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for England, with representations of their miseries. Their agent received recommendations from the principal Scotch Protestant nobility then in London, and succeeded in moving the Secretaries of State to compassion. Orders were sent in the Queen's name to all the Lords of Justiciary "not to persecute the Catholics in any manner on account of religion, provided they lived peaceably, and raised no disturbances." The Society, known as The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, which had lately been established in England was now set agoing in Scotland. From the accounts of its foundation, there remains little doubt that the activity of the "Romish

missionaries among the people," some Scotsmen having been "caught by the trinkets of Popery," was the primary cause of its existence in the north.

In the year 1711 Thomas Forbes, the son of the first Bishop of Edinburgh, who had been converted, and who was a great benefactor of the mission, died.

At this period there was a certain amount of tranquillity pervading the generally storm assailed mission, and about the year 1712, the little seminary of Scalán was founded by Bishop Nicolson. It was situated on the bank of the Crombie water, in a very sequestered situation, among the mountains dividing Inveravon parish in Banffshire from the Cabrach, Glenbucket, and Strathdon in Aberdeenshire. It was named *Scalan*, which means an obscure or shadowy place, and the name was most appropriate. Here, far from the haunts of civilised man, hardly known but to a few shepherds, or the wandering sportsman, living on the proceeds of a small tract of mountain-ground, a priest superintended the education of eight or ten youths, designed for the most part to complete their course, and receive ordination on the Continent, though occasionally the rite of ordination was performed at Scalán.¹

By the Benedictine Monastery of St James's, in far distant Ratisbon, Scotland was never forgotten. For many years St James's had been governed by Abbot Placidus Fleming, a descendant of the Earls of Wigton, "who was distinguished not only by able administration

¹ See Leslie's *Survey of the Province of Moray*, p. 280, and Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*.

and strict discipline generally, but by the organisation of a Seminary for the education of young Scotsmen of good family." The Abbot exerted himself with equal success to restore the monastery at Erfurt, and he there effected the establishment of a Professorship of Philosophy in the University of that city, always to be held by Scotsmen. Scotsmen from Ratisbon were also employed in the cause of education at Waldsassen and Munich.

"In the early part of this century we find traces of aged Scottish gentlemen, who had been engaged in foreign military service, weary of the wars, coming to pass a tranquil old age without the vows, in the tranquil cloister. Now, also, a new life, but not such a life as St Benedict would have enjoined, animated the old walls of Abbot Gregory. From the time of the abdication of James II., Ratisbon became the focus of the Jacobite intrigues in Germany for the restoration of the exiled family."¹

Not only Scottish Catholic but Episcopalian Jacobite lairds, now commonly sent their sons to Douai for education. The fathers there, we are told, "found it to their profit to receive the well-born pensioners from Scotland, who might, in after life, facilitate the labours, or at least mitigate the difficulties of the missionaries, in remembrance of their early days; the young Scotsmen obtained an education which, so far as manners and bearing were concerned, very much exceeded anything that could be obtained at home. . . ."²

¹ See "Scottish Religious Houses Abroad," A. P. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1864.

² Ibid.

There Abbot Placidus died "full of years and honours" in 1720, having governed Ratisbon since 1672. He was succeeded by Maurus Stuart, who made two journeys to Scotland to bring out students. He died three months after election, and was never consecrated. His successor was Bernard Baillie, who taught philosophy at Erfurt, and was destined to rule Ratisbon till 1743.

The Scottish mission was also fortunate at this time in having such a zealous protector as Cardinal Sacripanti. The Scots College in Rome, whose present rector was Father William Clerk, was in a prosperous condition, and Queen Maria Beatrice presented it with certain sums to help to defray the travelling expenses of the students.

On the 11th of April 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht brought the great war of the Spanish succession to an end. One of the terms of the treaty was that Louis XIV. was to abandon the cause of the Chevalier, and to recognise the Protestant successor to the English Crown.

On August 1st, 1714, Queen Anne died at Kensington, in the fiftieth year of her age, and was succeeded by George, son of Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover, and of Sophia, granddaughter of James VI. The following year was signalised by the enterprise of "The Fifteen."

In Scotland, the Earl of Mar rose up for the Chevalier. He was joined by 10,000 Highlanders, and on the 5th of September 1715, he planted the royal standard of James VIII. and III. at the Castleton of Braemar. At the same time the Earl of Derwentwater and Thomas

Foster were calling together the men of Northumberland to fight for the same master. On November 13th, the indecisive battle of Sheriffmuir was fought in the south of Perthshire, between the Jacobites under Lord Mar, and the Hanoverians under the Duke of Argyll. The former were checked, and on the same day, at Preston, in Lancashire, Foster and his army, which included 1800 Highlanders, was forced to surrender. In the end of December the Chevalier landed at Peterhead. Disaster and failure followed him at every step, and in February 1716, he and the Earl of Mar sailed from Montrose for France. On the 22nd of February the Prince landed at Gravelines, and visited his broken-hearted mother at St Germain. His visit there was necessarily brief, as the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht forbade his residence in French dominions. In the spring of 1719, an expedition for the Chevalier sailed from St Sebastian, in Spain, and landed at Loch Alsh. The Hanoverians dispersed the army in the battle, or rather the skirmish, of Glenshiel, on the 11th of June.

In such continual danger did the clergy live at this time, that great alarm was caused when one day a letter was left for Bishop Gordon at the Duchess of Gordon's lodgings in Edinburgh, addressed in full, *Illmo Domino Jacobo Gordon Ep. Nicop. Ap. in Scotia*. It was from the Nuncio at Brussels, and had it fallen into the hands of Government, would certainly have caused much trouble. Fortunately, no harm came of it.

On the 7th of May 1718, died at St Germain en Laye, Queen Maria Beatrice, in the sixtieth year of her age, and the thirtieth of her exile. She was greatly

beloved by all who knew her well, and her life had been for long devoted to prayer and to good works. Sorrow upon sorrow had been her portion, and in 1712 even *La Consolatrice* had been taken away. *Maria Beatrice* bequeathed her heart to the beloved monastery of *Chaillot*, there to be placed between those of *King James* and the *Princess Louisa*, her brains to the chapel of *St Andrew* in the *Scots College*, and her body to repose unburied in the choir of the *Conventual Church of St Marie de Chaillot* till the restoration of her son to the throne of *Great Britain*, when, together with the remains of her consort and their daughter, it was to be conveyed to *England*, and interred in the tombs of kings in *Westminster Abbey*.

The *Duke of Perth*,¹ who had shared the exile of the *Royal Family*, and whose religion alone would have rendered his life scarcely endurable in his native land, made his own tomb in the chapel of the *Scots College*, and the record on it is that he was a great patron of learning. The *Benedictines of St Germain des Prés* dedicated the life of the illustrious *Mabillon* to the *Scotch nobleman*.

In 1719, the *Chevalier de St George* married the beautiful *Princess Clementina Sobieski*, daughter of *Prince James Sobieski of Poland*, and granddaughter of *King John Sobieski*, who had defeated the *Turks* before *Vienna*.

On the 31st of *December 1720*, was born at *Rome* *Charles Edward Louis Philip Casimir*, known to history as the *Young Chevalier*, the *Young Pretender*, *Bonnie Prince Charlie*, and *King Charles III*. Among those

¹ The *Earl of Perth* received the title of *Duke* from *James VII*.

present to attest his birth was Cardinal Sacripanti, Protector of Scotland. On the 5th of March 1725, Henry Benedict Maria Clement was born at Rome. He was the future Cardinal de York.

In 1718 Bishop Nicolson terminated his episcopate of four and twenty years, and passed from a life of toil and suffering to his everlasting rest, at Preshome, on the 23rd of October. He had given stability to the mission; he had laboured for it by day and night; he had striven to reconcile regulars and seculars whenever they disagreed; and he left his *Statuta*, a noble legacy, to the Church. That the Faith was progressing and "living still, in spite of dungeon, fire, and sword," is witnessed to by Wodrow, who writes in 1721 from the General Assembly: "The great matter before us is the terrible growth of Popery in the north. We met on this matter from three to seven last night. The accounts are most lamentable. Several ministers are in a state of persecution. Some parishes, where there were not long ago scarcely any Papists, have now seven or eight hundred. One meeting-place alone has fifteen hundred hearers every Lord's Day. Bishops, priests, and Jesuits are exercising openly their functions, seminaries and schools are openly set up, and multitudes sent abroad and coming home from Popish seminaries every three or four months."

Bishop Gordon, who had for years been the faithful coadjutor of Bishop Nicolson, was now left the sole prelate in Scotland. On the 2nd of October 1720, John Wallace, son of a Provost of Arbroath, was consecrated Bishop of Cyrrha (by special dispensation), by Bishop Gordon alone, assisted by two priests.

On a Sunday morning in May 1722, Bishop Wallace was arrested in the Duchess of Gordon's house in Edinburgh, as he was hearing confessions before saying mass. The Duchess was still in bed, but the constables of the Town Guard insisted on her rising, and conducting them over the house, wherein they discovered eleven Catholics. Some were dismissed, and some, including the bishop, were sent strongly guarded to prison. On his liberation, Bishop Wallace proceeded to minister in the Lowlands.

In 1727 Cardinal Sacripanti died, and Cardinal Falconieri became Protector of Scotland.

On the 23rd of July 1727, Pope Benedict XIII. ratified a decree of propaganda for the division of Scotland into two vicariates, the Lowland and the Highland districts. In this year, Bishop Gordon, who, since Bishop Nicolson's death, had been vicar-apostolic of all Scotland, became vicar-apostolic of the newly-created lowland district, and Bishop Wallace was appointed his coadjutor. The actual division of the country into two vicariates was not accomplished till 1731, when Hugh Macdonald, son of the Laird of Morar, was consecrated at Edinburgh by Bishops Gordon and Wallace, assisted by a priest, on the 2nd of October, and as Bishop of Diana *in partibus*, became vicar-apostolic of the Highland district. The line of demarcation between the two districts was sanctioned by a solemn Decree of Propaganda on the 7th of January 1732. In 1733 Bishop Wallace died. He was succeeded by Alexander Smith, who was consecrated at Edinburgh on September 19th, 1735, by Bishops Gordon and Macdonald, and received the title of Bishop of Misinopolis.

The prevalence of Jansenistic ideas in Great Britain dates from early in the eighteenth century. In June 1733, a meeting of priests of the Highland district was held, and at their request Bishop Gordon drew up a formula, accepting the famous Constitution *Unigenitus* and repudiating the errors of Jansen and Quesnel. The Brief of Clement XII., dated September 10th, 1730, enjoined the bishops to require every priest, both secular and regular, to subscribe the formula.

In the year 1728, Father Thomas Innes, already alluded to as the learned vice-principal of the Scots College in Paris, re-appears. His presence in Edinburgh is mentioned by Wodrow—"There is one Father Innes, a priest, brother to Father Innes of the Scots College at Paris, who has been at Edinburgh all this winter, and is mostly in the Advocates' Library, in the hours when it is open, looking books and MSS. He is not engaged in politics, as far as can be guessed, and is a monkish bookish person, who meddles with nothing but literature. I saw him at Edinburgh. He is upon a design to write an account of the first settlement of Christianity in Scotland . . . and pretends to show that Scotland was christianised at first from Rome. . . . This Father Innes made an observation which I fear is too true. In conversation with the company, who were all Protestants, he said he did not know what to make of those who had separated from the Catholick Church; as far as he could observe generally, they were leaving the foundations of Christianity, and scarce deserved the name of Christians . . . that as he came through England he found most of the bishops there gone off from their

articles . . . that he was glad to find his countrymen in Scotland not tainted in the great doctrine of the Trinity, and sound."¹ In the following year the fruits of Father Innes' peaceful studies in the Advocates' Library appeared in the publication of his *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*, a work of great learning, which to this day has not been superseded. Soon afterwards we find Father Innes suggesting to Bishop Keith, then busy with the *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, the publication of a manuscript record, at Paris, of the last three Provincial Councils of Scotland; and although he had reached the age of 73, offering his services, so "that it might be put in a condition to make as good a figure to the honour of our country as any of those times the south of Britain could produce." "This offer met a ready acceptance. Archdeacon Wilkins was then on the eve of sending his *Concilie Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae* to the press; and, when it appeared in 1737, it was found to contain not only the Provincial Councils which Innes had brought to light, but an essay from his pen on the ancient form of holding synods in Scotland. This, like everything which he wrote, is marked by learning, modesty, and good sense." Wilkins found in Father Innes a useful fellow-labourer in Scotland. "Innes had pointed out the manuscripts in which the earlier legislation of the Scottish Church was recorded. They were chiefly in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, and its keeper, the learned and excellent Thomas Ruddiman, hastened to supply transcripts not only of

¹ *Analecta*, vol. iii. pp. 516, 517.

what Innes had indicated, but of what he himself had discovered. In this way the *Concilie Magnæ Britannia* came to contain all that was known of the Canons and Constitutions of Scotland at that time—all, indeed, that was known until our own days.”¹

In the same year that the vigilant Wodrow heard of a Popish priest in the quiet shades of the Advocates’ Library, he makes another serious discovery, and writes :—“ I am told that the Duchess of Gordon, a most active, zealous Papist, is now gone out of the Canongate, and taken a house betwixt and Leith, which is just turned a Seminary for corrupting of youth, especially young girls. She keeps a dispensatory, and distributes medicines gratis ; and has got in a great many poor people, and turns them all Popish, as well as a great many poor gentlemen’s children. . . . She maintained some time ten or twelve grandchildren, and they turned Popish.”²

On the 7th of June 1727, George I. died suddenly at Osnabrück. In 1682 he had married his cousin, the Princess Dorothea of Zell, and their son succeeded to the throne as George II.

In the month of July 1745, there was a meeting at Edinburgh of the bishops and administrators, at which Bishops Gordon, Smith, and Macdonald were present. As Bishop Macdonald was returning home, he unexpectedly met, in Lorn, Macdonald, Laird of Kinloch-Moydart, from whom he learned that Prince Charles Stuart, with only seven gentlemen and 1500 stand

¹ See *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, Pref. cxxxvi.

² *Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 523.

of arms, and a considerable sum of money, had arrived at the Western coast. The laird looked upon the attempt as desperate, but said that by honour he was engaged in it, and would lose his life in the cause; nay, by a strange presentiment, he specified the very manner of his death, and said that he would be hanged. He went forward to concert measures with the Duke of Perth, and to procure British money for 2000 louis d'or that he had with him. The bishop proceeded to Moydart, on the coast of which, near Boradale, was the Prince, still on board the vessel in which he had come from France, and was under the name and disguise of a French Abbé. The bishop was introduced to him, and the Prince asked his opinion and advice. The bishop candidly told him that the country was not prepared for his reception; and that his coming had not been expected until the year following; that any attempt at the present time would endanger his person, and probably ruin his best friends; that therefore his advice was to return to France immediately in the same ship, and wait for a more favourable opportunity. This advice was not relished by the young adventurer, and the bishop was little more consulted. Macdonald of Ross also advised returning to France, otherwise to go about and land on the estate of Macdonald of Slate or on that of M'Leod, "for if he trusted himself to them in the beginning they would certainly join him, which otherwise they would not do."¹

On the 19th of August 1745, the royal standard of

¹ See MS. of Bishop Geddes.

King James VIII. was solemnly blest by Bishop Macdonald. Then in the vale of Glenfinnan, on the lands of Macdonald of Glenaladale, the aged Marquis of Tullibardine, supported by two attendants, unfurled the standard, and the broad banner of white, red, and blue silk floated bravely on the mountain breeze. With the unfurling of the standard at Glenfinnan this part of this little work is ended. The enterprise of "the Forty-Five" was a great episode in the history of the United Kingdom, and the year 1745 marks a great era in the history of the Catholic Church in Scotland, for that year saw the conversion of one who is had in everlasting remembrance. This was George Hay, one of the holiest bishops of the Church in Scotland.

The earlier afternoon of the eighteenth century was clouded and stormy indeed, but there was to be light at eventide, when, with the First Repeal of the terrible Penal Laws, there came the promise of a brighter dawn for Catholicism in the nineteenth century.

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